The Ancient Geography of Kashmir

By

M.A. Stein *PhD.*

Principal

Madrashah College Calcutta

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of
Kashmir

By
M.A. Stein PhD.
Principal Madrashah
College Calcutta

Research and Publication Department
J and K Govt.
Srinagar

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MEMOIR
ON
THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY
OF
KASHMIR

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Importance of ancient topography of Kaśmīr:

1. It is impossible to understand correctly, or to utilize fully, the historical contents of the Kaśmīr Chronicle without paying close attention to the country's ancient topography. A detailed study of the latter is indispensable for the interpretation of KALHAṆA'S text. It is equally necessary, if we wish to follow the development of Kaśmīr history as a whole and to ascertain the true proportions of individual events.

In the notes which accompany my translation of the Chronicle, the endeavour has been made to place before the reader the topographical information bearing on particular points of

Kalhaṇa's narrative. But it is manifest that the information scattered through these notes cannot take the place of a connected account of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr. As such an account is required for a critical study of early Kaśmīr history, it has appeared necessary to embody it in the present work in the form of a supplementary memoir.

It would be difficult to limit our survey of the old topography of Kaśmīr strictly to the periods dealt with in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. Much valuable information bearing on the Kaśmīr of old Hindu times can be gathered from the later Sanskrit Chronicles, religious texts of uncertain date like the Nīlamata and the numerous Māhātmyas, and even from recent local tradition. We should deprive ourselves of material aid towards the reconstruction of the country's ancient topography were we to exclude all such data from the range of our inquiry, merely because they *may* relate to a period later than Kalhaṇa's time. It will hence be more convenient and at the same time safer to extend the chronological limit of our inquiry to the close of the Hindu epoch.

Maps of Ancient Kaśmīr and Śrīnagar:

2. The maps which accompany this work are intended to illustrate the ancient geography of Kaśmīr within the same limits. They have been prepared, with the assistance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, at the offices of the Survey of India, and under the superintendence of Colonel J. WATERHOUSE, late Assistant Surveyor-General. To this distinguished officer I am chiefly indebted for the successful technical execution of the maps.[1]

It was my object to provide maps showing at the same time the results of my researches and the topographical evidence on which they are based. With this view I adopted the plan of having the best available map of modern Kaśmīr reproduced as a 'ground-map', and the dentified ancient sites and local names shown over it in a distinguishing colour. The 'ground-map' of the large map is an exact reproduction of the plates engraved for the corresponding parts of the *Atlas of India*, Sheets 27 and 28. These show in full detail, on the scale of four miles to the inch, the results of the survey carried out in Kaśmīr by the Trigonometrical Branch of the Survey of India during the years 1856-60. No subsequent survey has yet been made.

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[1] The maps will be published also separately in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which bore the cost of their preparation. The paper accompanying this separate issue explains more fully the technical lines followed in preparing the maps. In the Preface of the present work I have indicated the obligation I owe for the valuable help received in connection with them from Drs. GRIERSON and HOERNLE, and Col. J. WATERHOUSE.

Apart from the spelling of local names which, owing to special difficulties, is rather defective and in need of revision,[2] this map is an accurate representation of the actual topography of Kaśmīr. Over it the entries referring to the ancient topography have been printed in red. The use of distinctive type makes it easy to see at a glance whether any particular old local name is found in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (GROTESQUE type) or is known only from the later Chronicles or other sources (*italic*). The smaller map showing Śrīnagar, the Kaśmīr capital, and its environs has been prepared in the same manner. The ground-map, on the scale of one mile to the inch, has in this case been reproduced from an inset published in an earlier map of the Survey of India Department.[3]

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[2] At the time when this portion of the *Atlas of India* was prepared, no fixed system of transliteration had yet been adopted by the Survey of India. Kaśmīrī sounds are for the untrained ear often difficult to catch and their adequate reproduction would not be easy, even with the system of spelling now observed by the Survey Department. It is only too evident that the surveying parties could have had but scant knowledge of Kaśmīrī, and that many local names were taken down, not from the mouth of the genuine inhabitants, but as pronounced, i. e. transformed by Panjābīs and other foreigners; compare above, e. g. notes i. 38, 102; vii. 494.

In some cases, far more rare, the erroneous local names can be explained in a quasipalæographical manner, being due to misreadings of draftsmen or errors of the engraver; see e.g *Harprat* for Hāra'traṭh, *Ballarkallar* (corrected in present ground-map) for Bāravul (note i. 121), *Kadriar* for Khāda'niyār.

As regards the entry of ancient local names in the maps it may yet be noted that completeness has been aimed at only as far as sites and names mentioned by Kalhaṇa are concerned. In the case of those known only from the later Chronicles and other secondary sources of information, a selection had to be made to avoid overcrowding of the map. The local names selected were those the antiquity of which could be established for certain, and which could also claim special historical interest.

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[3] "Map of Jummoo, Kashmir and Adjacent Territories," 1861 (lithographed).

Contents of Memoir :

3. In dealing with the subject of this memoir it will be convenient to examine first the sources of information from which our knowledge of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr is drawn. We shall then notice the part which the general physical features of the country have played in its early economical and political history. In the closing chapter we shall survey what appertains to the political geography of ancient Kaśmīr, the old administrative divisions of the Valley, its sites of historical or religious interest, etc. Much of the detailed information bearing on these points has already been set forth in the notes on Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. References to the latter will permit us to make this last portion of our survey of old Kaśmīr more succinct than it could be othewise.

Earlier publications on Kaśmīr topography :

4. Before, however, closing these preliminary remarks we may refer briefly to the few earlier publications bearing on the study of the old topography of Kaśmīr. We naturally turn

first to the works which have dealt directly with the interpretation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Dr. WILSON, who was the first European scholar to study the Chronicle in the original, seems to have realized the importance of an accurate and sober examination of the geographical questions connected with the narrative. But the textual materials at his disposal were extremely defective, and European knowledge of Kaśmīr restricted at the time solely to the account of BERNIER and FORSTER. He could hence scarcely do more than indicate the more or less corrupt modern equivalents by which the Persian Chronicles render some of the Kaśmīr local names taken from Kalhaṇa's account. It is, however, evident that only the defective character of the available information prevented that distinguished Sanskrit scholar from doing justice to the task he had himself clearly indicated.

The elaborate commentary with which Mr. TROYER accompanied his French translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī does not represent any material advance beyond the contents of Dr. Wilson's Essay. Yet Mr. Troyer had already the whole text of the Chronicle to refer to, and in the meantime a considerable amount of information about Kaśmīr had become available through the works of travellers like Moorcroft, Jacquemont, Vigne, Von Hugel, and others. The serious shortcomings which characterize Mr. Troyer's labours, notwithstanding his patient devotion to the task have already been fully indicated by Prof. Buhler[4]. No detailed reference is hence needed to his topographical notes; they belong to the weakest portions of his work.

The English translation of the Chronicle published in the years 1879-87, by Babu Jogesh Chunder Dutt, makes no attempt whatever to elucidate the many points of topographical interest. Like Mr. Troyer's version it strikingly demonstrates the importance of topographical researches by the frequent instances in which the translator has mistaken local names for words of ordinary meaning or *vice versa*[5].

The advantages offered for inquiries of this kind by a direct acquaintance with the country were fully illustrated by the very valuable contributions which General (then Captain) CUNNINGHAM was able to make to our knowledge of ancient Kaśmīr in connection with his visit to the Valley in November, 1847. Though his stay was short and primarily devoted to a survey of the conspicuous temple-ruins still extant, he succeeded in identifying correctly a number of important ancient sites such as *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*, 'the old capital,' *Jyeṣtheśvara*, *Mārtāṇḍa*, *Padmapura*, *Pattana*, *Khonamuṣa*.[6]

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[4] See *Report*, pp. 55 sqq.

[5] For some of the imaginary territories and places which figure in these translations, see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1898, pp. 67 sqq.

General Cunningham subsequently had occasion to discuss comprehensively these localities in his *Ancient Geography of India*—a work which, notwithstanding its deficiencies in detail, amply testifies to the great antiquarian experience and the remarkable natural acumen of its author. The chapter on the kingdom of Kasmir utilizes the evidence afforded by the Chinese sources and Alberūnī, and indicates correctly the old names of the petty hill-states to the south and south-east of Kaśmīr

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[6] See his "Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture as exhibited in the temples of Kashmir." *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp, 242-327.

(*Rājapurī*, *Vallāpura*, *Campā*, *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*).[7] It further adds to the identification of particular old sites already mentioned, some others equally important.[8]

Professor LASSEN'S "Indische Alterthumskunde" gives an extensive analysis of the historical contents of Kalhaṇa's work. But his explanations as to the ancient localities mentioned are generally only there well-founded where they are based on General

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[7] See *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 89-103, 128-141.

[8] If particular proof were wanted that an acquaintance with the modern topography of a country and interest in its history, is in itself not sufficient to lead to useful results in regard to its historical geography, Mr. VIGNE'S work, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London 1842, two vols.), would supply it. This estimable artist and traveller evidently took a good deal of interest in the antiquities of the country which he traversed in many directions. But his took. as far as the old geography of Kaśmīr is concerned, furnishes scarely anything more than a series of amusingly naive etymologies of local names. Thus *Hŭʳa'por* (Sūrapura) is 'The Dimond City, *Pāⁿdʳethan* (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna), the place of 'the Pandus and Duryndum' (i. e. Duryodhana), *Sopūr* (Suyyapura) 'the Golden City,' etc ; see i. p. 267; ii. pp. 37, 157.

Mr. Vigne is responsible for the curious derivation of the name of the Kaśmīr capital. *Śrīnagar* (Srīnagara), or as he spells it 'Siri Nagur,' from "*Surya Nagur*, the city of the sun" (ii. p. 137). Judging from the persistence with which it has been copied by a succession of modern writers, this erroneous etymology bids fair to establish itself as a piece of orthodox creed with European visitors to the Valley.

Cunningham's researches.[9] Ancient territories and places are often connected with modern localities merely on the ground of a faint resemblance of the names, and without sufficient internal evidence. This tendency has often led that distinguished scholar to ignore the narrow territorial limits within which most of the local and ethnic names occuring in the later portion of Kalhaṇa's narrative have to be looked for. It is only natural that identifications of real or imaginary localities which transferred the scene of contemporary events described by Kalhaṇa, to territories so distant as Lahore, Eastern Afghanistan or Ajmere, have helped to produce a very ill-focussed picture of the political power and extent of the Kaśmīr kingdam in those later times.[10]

The merit of having definitely shown the right methods and means for constructing the ancient geography of Kaśmīr belongs to Professor Buhler. In the masterly report on his Kaśmīr tour, he has shown that for a full comprehension of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle a minute study of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr was indispensable.[11] He was the first to call attention to the ample materials which are offered for such a study by the later Sanskrit Chronicles, the Nīlamatapurāṇa, and other Kaśmīr texts. But he also realized that "some of the geographical questions will probably require a final re-examination in Kaśmīr.

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[9] See *Ind. Alt.*, ii. pp. 885-915; iii. pp. 984-1128.

[10] I refer to locations like those of *Lohara* (Loha'rin) at Lahore, of the [imaginary] province *Kampanā* in eastern Afghanistan; of the *Lavanya* tribe near the Sambhar salt lake; of the feudal Chief *Koṣṭheśvara* at Koṭgarh on the Satlej, etc; comp. *Ind. Alterth.*, iii. pp. 1057, 1041, 1069, 1105, and for the supposed territorial extent of the Kaśmīr state, iii. p. 1119.

Other labours prevented my lamented master from undertaking this task himself. But the very graphic and accurate notices which his Report gives of those old sites in the Valley he had himself heen able to visit,[12] prove convincingly—if any proof were needed—that no important point bearing on the old topography of the country could have easily escaped his attention. The particular identifications first made by him will be fully mentioned in their proper places.

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[11] See *Report*, p. 58.
[12] See *loc. cit.* pp. 4-18.

CHAPTER II

ACCOUNTS OF OLD KAS'MĪR

SECTION I–CLASSICAL NOTICES

5. Our sources for the early geography of Kaśmīr may be conveniently divided into foreign notices and indigenous records. As the information supplied by the former is on the whole earlier in date though by no means more precise or important, we shall commence our review with them. Having learned what little the outer world knew or recorded of the secluded alpine land, we shall appreciate all the more the imposing array of Kaśmīrian authorities which offer themselves as our guides in and about the Valley.

Alexander's invasion :

It is significant for the isolated position which its mountain barriers assured to Kas'mīr, that we do not find any mention of the country in those accounts to which we are accustomed to look for the first truly historical notices of the North-West of India. I mean the records of Alexander's invasion. The march from Taxila to the Hydaspes (Jehlam) took the Macedonian forces along a line of route which lay comparatively near to the confines of Kaśmīr. Yet there is no notice in the accounts of Alexander's invasion which can be assumed to imply even a hearsay knowledge of the Kaśmīr Valley. On the other hand, the names of the neighbouring countries on the West and South have long ago been recognized in the names of their rulers, *Arsakes* and *Abisares.* These names clearly represent ethnic appellations derived from *Uraśā* (Ptolemy's *Ovapoa*) and *Abhisāra.*[1]

PTOLEMY'S Kaspeiria.

The only certain reference to Kaśmīr which classical literature has preserved for us, is found in PTOLEMY'S geography.

There can be no doubt that D'Anville was right in recognizing its name in that of the region of KASPEIRIA, situated 'below the sources of the Bidaspes (Vitastā) and of the Sandabal (Candrabhāgā), and of the Adris (Irāvatī),'[2]

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[1] See above, notes v. 217; i. 180.

[2] See Ptolemy VII., i. 42, and pp. 21, 40 sq., in *Antiquite Geographique de l' Inde, par M. D' Anville, Premier Geographe du Roi,* etc., Paris, 1775,—a work remarkable for its accuracy and sound judgement, considering the condition of Indian Geography at the time when it was written.

Ptolemy mentions this territory correctly enough between that of the *Daradrai* or Dards on the Indus and *Kylindrine* or the land of the Kulindas on the Hyphasis (Biās) and eastwards. In his subsequent detailed description of Indian territories, however, he makes the region 'held by the Kaspeiræans' extend eastwards from the land of the Pandoouoi on the Bidaspes as far as Mount Ouidion or the Vindhya.[3]

It is clear that the limits here indicated, which would embrace a great portion of the present panjāb with parts of the North-West Provinces and Central India, can have nothing to do with Kaśmir. It has been suggested that Ptolemy's statement refers to a period when the power of the dynasty ruling over Kaśmīr actually extended over the wide territories above indicated.[4] The assumption, put into a form more in Keeping with historical probability, would be that Kaśmir was then subject to a great foreign dominion the rulers of which in Ptolemy's source were designated, for one reason or the other, from this part of their realm.

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[3] Ptol. VII. i. 47.

[4] Compare, e. g. LASSEN *Ind. Alt.*, ii. p. 898; V. DE ST. MARTIN, *Memoires de l' Academie des Inscriptions*, Sav. Etrang., Ire Serie, v. p 380.

However this may be, it is curious to note we meet with the name KASPEIRA also in the long list of cities located within the region belonging to the Kaspeiræans. The geographical position assigned to it by Ptolemy's table (or map) would bring Kaspeira close to the junction of the Hydapes and Zaradros (Satlej), i. e. the neighbourhood of Multān.[5] Yet it seems difficult to believe that the information originally underlying this entry referred to any other locality but Kaśmīr.[6]

It would be useless to seek now for an explanation of the erroneous location. The researches of the most competent scholars have amply proved how little reliance can be placed on the apparent exactness of Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes in the Asiatic portions of his work.[7] None of the other city names in the same list can be connected with Kas'mīr. Nor is the identification of any one of them certain, except that of Modovra the sacred Mathurā. This alone suffices to show how far away from Kas'hmīr we are liable to be taken.

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[5] See the old map reproduced in Dr. McCRINDLE'S *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*; Bombay, 1885.

[6] This had been rightly seen already by D'ANVILLE. He points out, p. 40, that the error in latitude implied by Ptolemy's position of Kaspeira (if Śrīnagar is really meant) is not greater than that which can plainly be proved in the case of his entry for *Barbarej*, the port at the mouth of the Indus.

The value of Ptolemy's notice of Kaspeiria lies mainly in the fact that it presents us with an accurate enough transcript of that from of the country's name which on independent phonetic evidence we must assume as an intermediate stage between the Sanskrit *Kas'hmīrī* and the modern Kas'mīrī from *Kas'īr*. A well-established phonetic law indicates for the name an earlier Prakrit form **Kas'vīra* (see below, ‡ 36). Of this form we have in *Kaspeira* (pronounced *Kaspīra*) as close a rendering as Greek writing permitted.[8] The Sanskrit from of the name, Kas'mīra, has, as far as we can go back, been always the one in official use. By it the country has been, and is still to this day, generally known abroad

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[7] See Yule, *Cathay*, p. cli.

[8] Thus the tribal name *Aspasioi* in Arrian (iv.23) reproduces the Sanskrit *Aśvaka*; comp. McCrindle *Invasion of India*, p. 333.

(Hindi *Kas′mīr*, Persian *Kashmīr)*. The preservation of the popular Prakrit *Kas′vīra by Ptolemy deserves hence attention

The Kaspeiroi of DIONYSIOS and NONNOS :

6. It is very probable that we have also to connect with Kas′mīr a curious notice which Stephanos of Byzantium has preserved from the *Bassarika*, a lost poem of Dionysios of Samos. The passage, first apparently noticed by D'Anville, mentions the KASPEIROI as a tribe famous among all Indians for their fast feet.[9] We do not know the time of this Dionysios. Nor can it be guessed from which source he may have taken the reference. That the Kas′hmīrīs had abroad the reputation of being good pedestrians may be concluded from a remark of Alberūnī.[10] It is clear that the natural conditions of an alpine valley enclosed by difficult mountains are likely to develop the marching powers of its inhabitants. The Rājataraṅginī gives us several instances of very

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[9] The text of the passage is reproduced by Troyer, ii. p. 307. Another short quotation from the same text mentions the *Arienoi* along with the Kaspeiroi posi kleitoi.

[10] *India,* transl. Sachau. i. p. 206.

respectable marching performances. It also shows at the same time the scant use made of riding animals in the mountains.[11] There is thus more than the mere name to justify us in referring the notice of Dionysios of Samos to Kas'hmīr.

We meet with the name of the Kaspeiroī also in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos, where they are mentioned among the Indian tribes rising in arms against Bacchos.[12] Nonnos refers in the same passage also to the Arienoi, whose name we see coupled with that of the Kaspeiroi in the Bassarika. It is hence probable that Nonnos has taken his reference either from the latter work or from some common source.

Kaspatyros of HERODOTOS :

7. We should, indeed, have a far earlier reference to Kaśmīr in classical literature and one by no less an authority than the 'Father of history,' if the opinion of those

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[11] Compare vii. 140, 1301; viii. 192, 379, 1588, 1796, 1887, 2673 sq.

[12] See DIONYSIAKA, xxvi. 165 sqq. I take this reference from TROYER, ii. p 308.

scholars could be accepted who recognized the name of the Valley in the KASPATYROS of Herodotos. The facts are briefly these. Herodotos mentions the city of Kaspatyros as the place at which the expedition under Scylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus, embarked.[13] He distinctly places this city in the Paktyan land which was to the north of the other Indians, apparently bordering on the Baktrian territory. The place meant by Herodotos is evidently the same that Hekataios knew before him by the name of KASPAPYROS and as a city of the Gandarians.[14]

The notice of Hekataios (circ 549-486 B.C.) makes it clear that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros, whichever form may be more accurate, must have been situated in that territory where the Indus first becomes navigable, i e. in the old Gandhāra, the present Peshawar District.

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[13] See iv. 44, also iii. 102. The points bearing on the interpretation of the passage are fully discussed by Sir E. BUNBURY, *History of Ancient Geography*, i. pp. 228, 256.

[14] See Stephanos Byzant s.v. RANDAPIKH; also MÜLLER, *Fragmenta historic. Graec.* i. p. 12.

That the designation *Paktyike* used by Herodotos refers to the same territory and represents the earliest mention of the ethnic name *Pakhtūn* or the modern Indian Paṭhān, is equally certain.[15] The exact site of Kaspatyros has not been identified. Considering the great changes which the local nomenclature of Gandhāra has undergone, it perhaps never will be.

Dr. WILSON was the first who distinctly attempted to connect the name of Kaspatyros with Kaśmīr.[16] But the idea seems to have occurred earlier, as D'Anville thought it necessary to refer to it. Dr. Wilson saw clearly enough that the city of Scylax must have been situated close to the Indus, and hence far away from Kaśmīr. Notwithstanding this patent fact he yet proposed to identify its name with that of Kaśmīr, on the assumption that the borders of the latter kingdom extended as far as the Indus.

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[15] This identification seems to have been first made simultaneously by DORN and LASSEN; compare V. DE ST. MARTIN, *Etude sur la geographie grecque de l'Inde,* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Sav Etrang , V. II^me^ partie, pp. 17 sqq.; also his note on Kaspatyros, ib. pp. 81-86, which contains a judicious review of the whole question from the geographical point of view, and a detailed account of earlier opinions.

[16] See *Essay,* p. 117; for a reproduction of the argument see *Ariana Antiqua,* pp. 136 sq.

Derivation of *Kaśmīra* from *Kaśyapapura:

The mistake must be traced to a fanciful etymology of the latter name. Wilson assumed that the name Kaśmīr was derived from **Kaśyapapura*, a name which he supposed to have been given to the country owing to its colonization by the *Ṛṣi* Kas'yapa. He supports this strange derivation by a reference to 'the uniform assertion of Oriental writers'.[17] But it is difficult to believe that he could have meant any better authorities than the Persian Tārīkhs of Kaśmīr of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, which he had occasion to consult in connection with his above-quoted

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[17] "This (the name of Cashmir) was derived, it is uniformly asserted by the Oriental writers, from the colonization of the country by Casyapa, the first settlement or city being named after him Casyapapur, converted in ordinary pronunciation into Cashapapur or Caspapur, the latter of which forms is the proper reading of the Greek text," *Essay*.

Essay. They, indeed, indulge in whimsical etymologies like Kas͟hmīr, i. e. *Kas͟hap* (Kas′yapa)+*mar* (maṭha), etc. But neither these etymologies nor the name **Kaśyapapura* are in any way known to our genuine sources.

It may well be doubted whether Wilson would have chosen to put forth such a derivation, had the whole of the Chronicle or the other Kaśmīrian texts been at the time accessible to him. Extensive as this literature is, it does not furnish any evidence whatever for Kaśyapapura or a similar name having ever been used as a designation of the country.[18] This fact is all the more significant, as allusions to the legendary origin of the country are otherwise so frequent. The philological impossibility of deriving *Kaśmīra* from **Kaśyapapura* need scarcely be specially indicated at the present day. A reference to the theory was, however, here necessary, as it has found its way into works of authrities like RITTER, LASSEN, and HUMBOLDT, and

[18] It is curious to note that Kāśyapapura was according to an Indian authority quoted by Alberūnī, *India*, i. p. 298, one of the old names of Multān.

has hence been reproduced even by recent writers.[19]

SECTION II. CHINESE RECORDS

8 If classical literature has thus nothing to tell us of Kaśmīr but the bare name, it is very different with the Chinese records. Buddhist pilgrims from China on their way to the sacred sites of the Indian plains visited Kaśmīr, and chose it as a resting-place. Their itineraries as well as the records of the political relations established with Kaśmīr during a period of Chinese extension to the west, furnish us with a series of interesting data for the old geography of Kaśmīr.

Earliest Chinese notice:

It seems difficult to accertain from the materials at present accessible in translations or notices of European scholars, which is to be considered the earliest Chinese reference to Kaśmīr. The difficulty is connected with the use of the geographical term KI-PIN. This name originally and properly designated the Upper Kābul Valley.[20] At a period when Chinese knowledge of India was less developed, it appears to have been used in a vague and general fashion for a variety of territories on the northern confines of India, among them also Kas'mīr. However this may be, our loss seems scarcely to be great as these earlier notices of the Chinese Annalists do not seem to give characteristic local details.[21]

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[19] See RITTER, *Asien*, ii. p. 1087; LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, ii. p. 635 (where for *Kaśyapapura > Kaśmīra an equally unfounded etymology from *Kaśyapamīra is substituted); HUMBOLDT, *Asie Centrale*, i. p. 102; for modern works, e.g. McCRINDLE, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 108; BEAL, *Si-yu-ki*, i p. 148.

The first clear reference to Kas'mīr which I can trace at present, is contained in a record dating from A. D. 541. The notice is based on the account of an Indian envoy who reached China during the early part of the reign of the T'ang dynasty.[22] Though the name of Kaśmīr is not mentioned, it seems evident that M. PAUTHIER who published the extract, was right in referring to Kaśmīr the description given of the northern portion of India as a country 'enveloped on all sides like a precious jewel by the snowy mountains, with a valley in the south which leads up to it and serves as the gate of the kingdom'. The points noticed here are exactly those with which we meet in all Chinese accounts of Kaśmīr.

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[20] Compare the explanations of Messrs Levi and Chavannes in their paper *L'Itineraire d'Ou-k'ong, Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. pp. 371 sqq., together with the supplementry and modifying statements, ib., 1896, pp. 161 sq.

[21] These notices are enumerated by Messrs. Levi and Chavannes, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. pp. 378 sq.

HIUEN TSIANG

9. Ninety years after the date of this notice Kaśmīr was visited by HIUEN TSIANG. He reached the Valley from Uraśā in the west and resided in it as an honoured guest for full two years. The records of the great Chinese pilgrim contain far the fullest and most accurate description of Kaśmīr that has come down to us from a foreign visitor for the period with which we are here concer-

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[22] G. PAUTHIER, *Examen methodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-Tchou ou l' Inde,* Paris, 1839. p. 40.

ned.[23] I leave the notices of particular localities he visited to be discussed below in their proper place. Here it will be sufficient to refer briefly to his general description of the country.

Hiuen Tsiang must have entered Kaśmīr by the valley of the Vitastā, as he describes his route as leading to the south-east of Uraśā, the present Hazāra District. After 'crossing over mountains and treading along precipices' he arrived at the 'stone gate, which is the western entrance of the kingdom.' We shall see below that this gate known also to Ou-kong and Alberūnī, was the frontier watch station or Dvāra, in the gorge of Bārāmūla (Varāhamūla). He passed the first night on Kaśmīr soil at *Huskapura*, the modern Uskur, opposite Bārāmūla, and then proceeded to the capital, which he describes exactly in the position of the present Śrīnagar. There he was lodged in the convent known as the *Jayendravihāra*, and named also in Rājataraṅginī.[24]

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[23] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. pp. 148 sqq.; *Vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, transl. Julien, pp. 90 sqq.

[24] See above, note iii. 355.

A two years' stay, though chiefly passed in the study of the Sūtras and Śāstras, must have enabled Hiuen Tsiang to acquaint himself thoroughly with the Valley. His description of 'the kingdom *Kia-shi-mi-lo*,' shows clearly that the geographical application of the term Kaśmīr must have been then, just as now, restricted to the great basin of the Vitastā, and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bārāmūla defile. He notices that the country is enclosed on all sides by mountains which are very high. "Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted." These natural bulwarks protected the country from neighbouring states 'which had never succeeded in subduing it.' Though the climate is cold and the snow plentiful, the soil is described as fertile and abounding with fruits and flowers. The inhabitants seem to have changed as little as the soil since Hiuen Tsiang's days. It is till easy to recognize in them the people whom he describes as "light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. The people are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well instructed." "Since centuries learning has been held in great respect in this kingdom," and Hiuen Tsiang dwells with evident pleasure on the recollection of the learned conferences he had with the Kaśmīr doctors of the sacred law.

Kas′mīr had, in earlier times, played a great part in the traditions of the Buddhist Church. Hiuen Tsiang relates at length the legends how the Arhat Madhyāntika had first spread the law of Buddha in the land ; how, in the time of As′oka, the five hundred Saints had taken up their abode there ; and how, finally, under the great Kaniska, King of Gandhāra, Kas′mīr had been the scene of the universal Council which fixed and expounded the Sacred Canon. Yet he observes that in his own time the kingdom, as a whole, was "not much given to the faith, and that the temples of the heretics were their sole thought."[25]

It is probably owing to this not very flourishing condition of contemporary Buddhism that Hiuen Tsiang mentions only a comparatively small number of Vihāras and Stūpas in the Valley. Among the Stūpas there were four ascribed to As′oka and one beneath which

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[25] See *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 158.

Kaniṣka was believed to have deposited the canonical texts as fixed by his Council, engraved on sheets of copper. None of these structures has yet been identified with any certainty. But in their description the pilgrim furnishes us incidentally with a valuable topographical indication.

Speaking of the convent which prided itself on the possession of a miraculous tooth of Buddha, he indicates its site as being about 10 li or circ. 2 miles 'to the south-east of the new city, and to the north of the old city.'[26]. This proves that the capital of Hiuen Tsiang's time, which corresponds to the present S'rīnagar, was then a comparatively new foundation, exactly as the Chronicle's account has it. At the same time the reference to the 'old city' enables us to fix with absolute certainty the site of the earlier capital, As'oka's S'rīnagarī, at the present Pāndreṭhan, the *Purāṇādhisṭhāna* of Kalhana.[27]

Hiuen Tsiang's stay in Kaśmīr:

The two full years which Hiuen Tsiang,

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[26] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 158

[27] See below, § 88, 89.

[28] *Vie de H. T.*, p. 96.

according to his own statement, spent in Kas′mīr,[28] represent a longer halt than any which the pious traveller allowed himself elsewhere during his sixteen years' wanderings through the whole length of India and Central Asia.[29] With all due respect for the spiritual fervour of the pilgrim and the excellence of his Kas″mīrian preceptors, it is difficult to suppress the surmise that the material attractions of the Valley had something to do with this long stay. The cool air of Kas′mīr, the northern aspect of its scenery and products, have at all times exercised a powerful charm over those visitors who, themselves born in colder climes, have come to the Valley from the heat and dust of the Indian plains. Just as these advantages attract in yearly increasing numbers European visitors from India proper so the modern Turkī pilgrims from Kashgar, Yarkand, and other parts of Central Asia, whether on their way to Mecca or on their return, never fail to make a long stay in Kas′mīr.

We should undoubtedly find the example

[29] Compare the table of dates for *Hiuen-Tsiang's* itinerary in CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 563 sqq.

of the modern *Ḥā*jīs followed also by Buddhist pilgrims if there were still any to take their way from those northern regions through Kas′mīr to the holy places of India. It would be an interesting task to examine to what extent the fame of Kas′mīr as the 'paradis terrestre des Indes'—a fame unknown to genuine Indian tradition—is the creation of northern visitors, both European and Asiatic. Here it may suffice to add that Hiuen Tsiang before he reached Kas′mīr, must have had already his experience of the torrid heat and the other amenities of a Panjāb summer.[30] We shall also see that the example of the other Chinese pilgrim whom we are able to follow on his visit to Kas′mīr, points exactly to the same conclusion.

Hiuen Tsiang's narrative tells us that he left the Valley going in a south-westerly direction. He reached *Pun-nu-tso*, the PARNOTSA of the Chronicle and the modern Prūnts, after crossing mountains and passing precipices[31]. As the Toṣ^{a}maidān route is the direct and most frequented route to that territory, it is very probable that Hiuen Tsiang also followed it. Parṇotsa as well as RAJAPURI (Ho-lo-she-pu-lo) to which the pilgrim subsequently proceeded had at the time of his visit no independent ruler, but were subject to Kas′mīr.

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[30] See CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 563 sq.

[31] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 162; *T.,Vie de H.* p. 96.

Kaśmīr in T′ang Annals:

10. The next Chinese notice of Kaśmīr and one which is of considerable historical interest, is contained in the Annals of the T′ANG dynasty. These mention the arrival at the imperial court of the first embassy from Kasmir, sent by King Tchen-t′o-lo-pi-li (in or shortly after A. D. 713), and that of another embassy sent by his brother and successor Mu-to-pi. We have had already occasion to note the identity of these two kings with the Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa (Lalitāditya) of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[32]

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[32] Compare notes iv. 45, 126.

From REINAUD, *Memoire sur l'Inde* pp. 189 spq., it appears that the names of the Kaśmīr kings in this Chinese record, and that of the Mahāpadma lake were first correctly identified by KLAPROTH, *Memoires relatifs ā l'Asie*, ii. pp. 275 sqq., a work which is at present not accessible to me.

The description of Kas'mīr, which is coupled with this record of the T'ang Annals, appears to be in the main copied from Hiuen Tsiang's Si-yu-ki. But in addition it furnishes us with a raference to the Mo-ho-to-mo-loung of *Mahāpadma* lake, i. e. the Volur, and an exact statement as to the Kas'mīr capital at the time. In my *Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kas'mīr,*[33] I have shown that the *Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo* of the Annals is a correct reproduction of Pravarapura, the old and official name of Śrīnagar. In the same way the name *Mi-na-si-to* given to the great river which flows to the west of the capital. represents a correct enough transcription of Vitastā. Both names are recorded in the form which they bore in the official Sanskrit, and are, therefore, evidently taken from the information given by the Kas'mīr envoys.

OU K'ONG

11. Not many years after Muktāpīḍa's embassy, Kas'mīr was visited by another Chinese pilgrim, OU-K'ONG. Though greatly inferior to Hiuen Tsiang in learning or power of observation, he has yet left us information regarding the country which is of interest and value. The itinerary of Ouk'ong, the discovery and recent publication of which we owe to Messers Le'vi and Chavannes,[34] contains the reminiscences of forty years' wanderings, taken down after the pilgrim's return to China, and in a form regrettably brief. But whether it be due to Ou-k'ong's long stay in Kas'mīr or to other causes, his account is fortunately far more detailed in the case Kas'mīr than in that of any other territory visited by him. His description of the Valley and the several sites mentioned by him have been fully discussed by me in the separate paper already quoted. I need hence indicate here only the main results of this analysis.

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[33] See pp. 26 sqq. in the above-quoted paper published in the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy, Vienna (Philos.-histor. Class), 1896, vol cxxxv.

Ou k'ong reached Kas'mīr in the year 759 from Gandhāra, presumably by the same route as Hiuen Tsiang has followed. He took there the final vows of a Buddhist monk and spent there fully four years engaged, as his itinerary tells us, in pilgrimages to holy sites, and in the study of Sanskrit.[35] Though he is said to have studied from daybreak to night-fall his diligence does not seem to have brought him much literary culture. This is curiously shown by the popular Apabhramśa forms in which our pilgrim records the names of the monasteries he specially singles out for notice. Four of these I have been able to identify with Vihāras mentioned in the Chronicle, and two of them have left their names to villages which survive to the present day.[36]

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[34] See *L'Itineraire d'Ou-k'ong*, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. pp. 341 sqq.

While Hiuen Tsiang mentions only about one hundred convents in the country, Ou-k'ong found more than three hundred, and speaks in addition of the number of Stūpas and sacred images as considerable. We may conclude from this that there had been a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the period intervening between the visits of the two pilgrims.

Routes from Kaśmīr:

Ou-k'ong describes the kingdom of Kaśmīr correctly enough as enclosed on all sides by mountains which form its natural ramparts.

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[35] See *L'Itineraire d'Ou-k'ong*, p. 356.
[36] See above, notes i. 147; iii, 9; iv. 188, 211.

Only three roads have been opened through them, and these again are secured by gates. In the east a road leads to *T'ou-fan* or Tibet, in the north there is a road which reaches into *Po-liu* or Baltistān; the road which starts from 'the western gate' goes to *K'ien-t'o-lo* or Gandhāra.[37]

We have here a clear enough description of the great routes through the mountains which since ancient times have formed the main lines of communication between the Valley and the outer world. The road to *T'ou-fan* corresponds undoubtedly to the present route over the Zoji-Lā to Ladākh and hence to Tibet. The road to *Po liu* is represented by the present'Gilgit Road', leading into the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley and from there to Skardo or Astor on the Indus. The third road can be no other than the route which leaves the Valley by the gorge of Bārāmūla and follows the Vitastā in its course to the west. We have seen already that Hiuen Tsiang followed it when he entered Kaśmīr by 'the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom'. There can be no doubt that in the gates ('fermetures' of the French translation) closing these roads we have a reference to the ancient frontier watch-stations or Dvāras, which we shall have occasion to discuss below.

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[37] See *L'Itineraire d'Ou-k'ong*, p. 356.

Besides these three roads, Ou-k'ong knew yet a fourth : "this, however, is always closed, and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit," It is probable that this curious notice must be referred to one of the routes leading over the Pīr Pantsāl range to south. Owing possibly to political causes these routes may have been closed to ordinary traffic at the time of Ou k'ong's visit.[38]

The political relations between China and the northern kingdoms of India seems to have ceased soon after the time of Ou-k'ong. This was probably due to the Chinese power under the later T'ang gradually losing ground in Central Asia before the Uigurs and the Tibetans. The pilgrimages of Chinese Buddhists, however, to India continued during the next two centuries. Of one at least of these pilgrim parties it is recorded that it took the route through Kaśmīr.[39] But no detailed account bearing on Kaśmīr has yet come to light of these later pilgrimages.

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[38] See *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 24 sq.

SECTION III—MUHAMMADAN NOTICES

Route from Kaśmīr :

12. After the Greeks and the Chinese the early Muhammadan writers are our next foreign informants regarding the historical geography of India. If, with one very remarkable exception, they have nothing to tell us in detail regarding Kaśmīr topography, the explanation is not far to seek. The first rush of Arab invasion in the Indus Valley during the eighth century had carried the Muhammadan arms at times close enough to the confines of Kaśmīr.[40] No permanent conquest however, had been effected even in the plains of the northern Panjāb. Protected in the west by the unbroken resistance of the S'āhis of Kābul and in the south by a belt of warlike Hindu hill-states, Kaśmīr had never been seriously threatened. Even when Islām at, last, after a long struggle, victoriously over-

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[39] Compare YULE, *Cathay*, p. lxxi., and JULIEN, *Journal Asiat.* 1847. p. 43.

[40] Sss REINAUD. *Memoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 195 sqq. ALBERŪNĪ, *India*, i. p. 21.

spread the whole of Northern India, Kaśmīr behind its mountain ramparts remained safe for centuries longer.

Conquest and trade were the factors which brough so large a part of the ancient world within the ken of the yearly Muhammadan travellers and geographers. Both failed them equally in the case of Kaśmīr. For a classical witness shows us how the system of seclusion ever easy to maintain in a country so well guarded by nature of Kaśmīr, had been developed and strenghthened at the approach of danger until it hermetically sealed the Valley to all foreigners without exception

We can thus scarcely be surprised at seeing that even the well-informed Al-Mas'ūdī who had personally visited the Indus Valley is unable to tell us anything more exact about Kaśmīr than that it is a kingdom with many towns and villages enclosed by very high and inaccessible mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a gate.[41] The notice we find in the works of Al-Qazwīnī and Al-Idrīsī are practically restricted to the same statement. The references of other Arab geographers are even more succinct and vague.[42]

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[41] See *Al-Mas'ūdī's* "Meadows of Gold," transl. Sprenger, i. p. 382. The number of towns and villages is estimated at from sixty to seventy thousand; regarding the traditional number here given see below § 87.

13. Notwithstanding the circumstances above indicated, Arabic literature furnishes us with a very accurate and valuable account of old Kaśmīr. We owe it to the research and critical penetration of ALBERUNI of whom, indeed, it may be said as of an early British explorer of Afghānistān,[43] that he could look through the mountains. The great Muhammadan scholar had evidently utilized every opportunity during this long stay at G͟hazna and in the Panjāb (A.D. 1017-30) to collect information on Kaśmīr.

His interest in the distant alpine valley is easily understood. He, himself, tells us in the first chapter of his great work on India how Hindu sciences, when the victories of Mahmūd had made the Hindus 'like atoms of dust scattered in all directions,' had retired far away from the conquered parts of the country. They "fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kaśmīr, Benares and other places."[44] In another passage he speaks again of Benares and Kaśmīr as the high schools of Hindu sciences.[45] He repeatedly refers to Kaśmīrian authors, and from the notices shown below it is evident that among his informants, if not among his actual teachers, there were Kaśmīrian scholars.[46]

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[42] The silence of the early Muhammadan geographers as regards Kaśmīr was duly noticed by RITTER, *Asien*, ii. p. 1115.

For *Al-Qazwīnī*, see GILDEMEISTER, *Derebus Indicis*, p. 210; for *Al-Idrīsī*, ELLIOT, *History of India*, i. pp. 90., sq.

For the notices of other Arabic geographers, see *Bibliotheca geographorum Arbicorum*. ed. De Goeje, i. p. 4; ii. pp. 9, 445; v. p. 364; vi pp. 5, 18, 68; vii. pp. 89, 687; also *Abū-l-Fida*, ed Reinaud, pp. 361, 506.

[43] Mountstuart Elphinstone.

The curious fact that Alberūnī, himself, composed certain Sanskrit treatises for circulation among 'the people of Kashmīr' proves beyond all doubt the existence of special relations between the great *Mleccha* scholar and that jealously guarded country. These relations seem strange considering what Alberūnī himself tells us so graphically about the rigid isolation of Kaśmīr. We can scarcely explain them otherwise than by personal intercourse with Kaśmīrian Pandits.[47]

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[44] *India*, transl. Sachau, i. p. 22.

[45] *India*, i. p. 173.

[46] ALBERŪNĪ, ii. 181, refers particularly to Kaśmīrian informants with whom he conversed regarding the miracle of the *Kūdaishahr*,' i.e. the *Kapateśvara* Tīrtha (see note i. 32). The way in which the pilgrimage to this spot was described to Alberūnī, makes it quite certain that his informants were personally familiar with the Tīrtha. The same must be said of his note on the pilgrimage to the temple of S'āradā (see Note *B*, i. 37, §13). The details regarding a local Kaśmīr festival (ii. p. 178),, the anecdote about the propagation of the *Śiṣyahitāvṛtti* in Kaśmīr (i. p. 135) are such as could not well have reached Alberūnī otherwise but by verbal communication.

Writing himself in A.D 1030 he refers to a statement contained in the almanac for the S'aka year 951 (A.D. 1029-30), which had come from Kashmir' (i.p. 391) He could scarcely have secured such an almanac except through Kaśmīrian Paṇdits who, even at the present day, wherever they may be, make it a point to provide themselves from home with their local *nakṣatrapattrikā*.

For references to Kaśmīrīan authors or texts specially connected with Kaśmīr. see i pp. 126, 157 157, 298' 334; i. p. 54 (Viṣṇudharma), etc. Compare also the very detailed account and the calender reckonings current in Kaśmīr and the conterminous territories, ii. p. 8.

[47] See *India*, Preface, p xxiv.; and Prof Sachau's introduction to his edition of the text of Alberūnī's *India*, p. xx.

Is it too much to suppose that Alberūnī had at one time or the other Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits in his employ? We

In view of these indications we can hardly go wrong in attributing a great portion of Alberūnī's detailed knowledge of Kaśmīr topography to these learned informants. But

know that in preparing the vast materials digested in his book he worked largely with the help of indigenous scholars. Judging from his own description of the state of Hindu sciences in the conquered territories and the bitter enmity prevailing amongst their Hindu inhabitants against the dominant Mlecchas, it is doubtful whether he could have secured there such assistance as he required.

Alberūnī himself tells us (i. p 24) where he describes so touchingly the difficulties in the way of his Indian studies : "I do not spare either money or trouble in collecting Sanskrit books from places where I supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for myself, even from very remote places, Hindu scholars who understand them, and are able to teach me."

Kaśmīr has always had an over-production of intellect. Bilhaṇa's classical example, amongst other evidence, shows that Kaśmīrian scholars have been as ready in old days as at present to leave their homes for distant places, wherever their learning could secure for them a livelihood (compare BUHLER Introd. to the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, p. xvii.; also *Indische Palaographie*, p. 56).

we also know that the chances of war had given him an opportunity of supplementing his knowledge in part by personal observation. Alberūnī refers in two places to his personal acquaintance with the fortress LAUHŪR (or Lahūr on the confines of Kaśmīr.[48] I have proved that Alberūnī's Lauhūr is identical with the castle of the *Lohara*, so frequently mentioned in the Chronicle, the position of which is marked by the present Lohārin on the southern slope of the Pīr Pantsāl range. 'Loharakoṭṭa' is undoubtedly the same as the Fort of *Lohkoṭ* before which, according to the uniform report of the Muhammadan historians, Mahmūd's attempt at an invasion of Kśmīr was brought to a standstill. It is hence certain that Alberūnī had accompanied this unsuccessful expedition. which probably took place in A.D. 1021. Though it failed to reach Kaśmīr, it must have given Alberūnī ample opportunity to collect local information and to acquaint himself with the topography of those mountain regions which formed Kaśmīr's strongest bulwark to the south.

ALBERŪNĪ'S description of Kaśmīr:

14. Alberūnī's main account of Kaśmīr is contained in Chapter xviii which gives 'various notes on the countries of the Hindus, their rivers and their ocean.'[49] Compared with the description of the rest of India, it is disproportionately detailed.

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[48] See above, Note *E*, iv. 177, §§ 12, 13.

Alberūnī first sketches in broad outlines but correctly enough the political division of the mountain region which lies between the great Central Asian watershed and the Punjāb plain. He then refers to the pedestrian habits of the Kaśmīrians, and notes the use by the nobles of palankins carried on the shoulders of men, a custom fully illustrated by the Chronicle and accounted for by the nature of the communications in the mountains.[50]

What follows deserves full quotation: "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."

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[49] See *India*, i. pp. 206 sqq.

[50] Compare e. g. *Rājat.* iv. 407; v. 33, 219; vii. 478; viii. 2298, 2636, 2674, 3165 etc.

Regarding the world *katt*, which Alberūnī gives as the indigenous term of the palankin, see note iv. 407.

We have here a full and clear statement of that system of guarding frontier-passes which we have found alluded to already in the Chinese records. It explains the great part which is played in the Chronicles by the frontier watch-stations, the *Dvāras* and *Draṅgas*, and is of all the more interest as the last traces of the system, in the form of *rāhdārī*, have disappeared in Kaśmīr only within quite recent memory.[51]

Alberūnī next proceeds to describe the 'best known entrance to Kashmīr.' Though the starting point of his itinerary cannot be identified with absolute certainty, it is clear that he means the route which ascends the Jehlam Valley. From 'the town *Babrahān*, half-way between the rivers Sindh (Indus) and Jailam,' eight Farsakh are counted 'to the bridge over the river, where the water of the *Kusnārī* is joined by that of the *Mahwī*, both of which come from the mountains of Shamīlān and fall into the Jailam.' Though there seems to be here some slight confusion I have little doubt that the point meant 'by the bridge over the river' corresponds to the present Muzaffarābād, at the confluence of the Jehlam and Kisangaṅgā.

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[51] Compare my *Notes on the ancient topography of the Pīr Pantsāl Route, J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sqq. lso below, pp 40.

The easiest route to Kaśmīr from the west leads through the open central portion of Hazāra (*Uraśā*) to Mansahra, hence across the Kunhār and Kisangaṅgā rivers to Muzaffarābād, and then up by the right side of the Jehlam Valley to Bārāmūla.[52]. In *Kusnārī* it is easy to recognize with Prof Sachau the present Kunhār River which falls into the Jehlam a few miles below its great bend at Muzaffarābād.[53] The *Mahwī* is evidently meant to designate the Kisangaṅgā.[54] If thus interpreted the only error in Alberūnī's description is that it makes the Kunhār join the Kisangaṅgā, whereas in reality the former falls into the Jehlam after its junction with the Kisangaṅgā.

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[52] This route is described, e. g. by DREW, *Jummoo* p. 528, 'as the easiest route from the Panjāb to Kas'mīr.'

[53] *Kunhār*, represents the regular phonetic derivative of a Skr. **Kuśnāī*, medial *ś* becoming always *h* under a phonetic law common to Kaśmīrī and the related dialects; for the change *hn* > *nh* compare Dr. GRIERSON, *Phonology of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1896, p. 33.

I have shown above, in note v. 215, that the route here indicated, which was a favourite one until a few years ago the "Jehlam Valley Tonga Road" was constructed, is distinctly referred to already in Kalhaṇa's account of S'amkaravarman's march to and from Uraśā. The distance of eight Farsakh corresponds according to Alberūnī's reckoning to about thirty-nine English miles.[55]

Referring to the map and the modern route measurements,[56] the distance carries us to a point between Mansahra and the next stage, Abbottabad. It is just in this neighbourhood that according to the evidence given in the above-quoted note, the old capital of Uraśā must be located. '*B*abrahān' cannot be identified at present. It is, perhaps, intended to present the name of this old town which could fairly be described as situated midway between the Indus and Jehlum. From Muzaffarābād onwards—where there is still a bridge over the Kisangangā, just as at the time (1783) when Forster crossed here on his way from Kaśmīr to Attock,[57]—we can follow the route quite plainly.

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[54] I am unable to account for the name *Mhawī.* Could it be the corruption of an Apabhramśa derivative of *Madhumatī*, a name of an affluent of the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā used also in a Māhātmya for the latter river itself ? See Note *B*, i. 37, * 16.

[55] Compare Prof. Sachau's note, *India*, ii. p. 316. Alberūnī values his *farsakh* at 4 Arabian miles or approximately 4×2186 yards. Hence 1 *farsakh* = $4\frac{1704}{1760}$ English miles.

Alberūnī counts five days of march 'to the beginning of the ravine whence the river Jailam comes,' that is to the entrance of the gorge through which the river flows immediately below Bārāmūla. This estimate agrees closely with the actual road distance between Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla which is given by Mr. Drew as eighty-four miles.[58] At the other

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[56] See DREW, *loc. cit.*

[57] See G FORSTER *Journey from Bengal to England*, 108, ii. p. 46.

[58] See *loc. cit.*

According to Mr. Drew's table six marches are counted, but one of them is very short. On the modern route following the opposite side of the river, five marches are now reckoned from Domel, opposite to Muzaffarābād, to Bārāmūla.

or Kas'mīr end of the ravine Alberūnī places quite correctly 'the watch-station *Dvār*' (Skr. *Dvāra*), the position of which, as we shall see below, is marked to this day by the site of the old gate known as *Drang*.

"Thence, leaving the ravine you enter the plain, and reach in two more days *Adhisṭhān*, the capital of Kashmīr, passing on the road the village *Ūshkāra*." All this is perfectly accurate. Adhisthāna, 'the capital,' is, of course, meant for S'rīnagara,[59] and Ūshkārā for *Uskur*, opposite Bārāmūla, the ancient Huskapura already mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.[60] Alberūnī's mention of Uskur which is on the left river bank, shows that then as now the ordinary road from the 'Gate of Varāhamūla' to S'rīnagara passed on the left or southern side of the Valley. Two marches are still counted for this part of the journey.

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[59] *Adhiṣṭhāna*, used again ii. p. 181, is a term which indicates that Alberūnī's informant was a sanskrit-speaking person. The common designation of the capital was *Srīnagara* or simply *Nagara*; see * 91 below.

[60] The text as rendered by Prof. Sachau, speaks of '*Ūshkārā* which lies on both sides of the Valley, in the same manner as *Barāmūlā*." There is either some corruption in the text here, or Alberūnī's informant has not made himself sufficiently clear. What he must have meant is that Ūshkārā lay on the opposite side of the river in the same manner as Bārāmūlā, that is, at the entrance of the ravine. Bārāmūlā as the text spells the word, reproduces an earlier form of the Kaśmīrī *Varahmul*, from Skr. *Varāhamūla*.

The capital is correctly described as "being built along both banks of the river Jailam, which are connected with each other by bridges and ferry boats." It is said to over 'a space of four Farsakh.' This, if interpreted to mean 'a space of four Farsakh in circumference' would not be too far from the truth, assuming that all suburban areas around the city are included in the estimate. The course of the river above and below the capital is rightly enough traced as far as the Valley is concerned. "When the Jailam has left the mountains, and has flowed two days' journey, it passes through Addishtān. Four Farsakh farther on it entres a swamp of one square Farsakh". Here, of course, the Volur lake (Mahāpadma) is meant. "The people have their plantations on the borders of this swamp, and on such parts of it as they manage to reclaim. Leaving this swamp, the Jailam passes the town Ūshkārā, and then enters the love-mentioned ravine."

The only mistake, and this one easily

explained, is contained in the account of the river's origin. It is described as rising "in the mountains *Haramakot*, where also the Ganges rises; cold, impenetrable regions where the snow never melts nor disappears." It is easy to recognize here the reference to Mount *Haramukuṭa*, and the sacred Gaṅgā-lake at the foot of its glacier in which Kas'mīrian tradition places the source of the Sindhu river.[61] The latter is the greatest tributary of the Vitastā within Kas'mīr and is traditionally identified with the Gaṅgā, as on the other hand the Vitastā with the Yamunā[62] The special sanctity of the Sindhu ('Uttaragaṅga') and the popularity of its supposed source as a pilgrimage place, sufficiently account for the substitution in Alberūnī's notice.

Entering the open plain of the Kaśmīr Valley from the Bārāmūla gorge, 'you have for a march of two more days on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamīlān, Turkish tribes who are called *Bhattavaryān*. Their king has the title of *Bhatt Shāh*.' It is clear that Alberūnī's informant here means the mountain-ranges to the north and north-west of the Valley which from its confines towards the Dard country and Baltistān. The latter has been known by the name of Bolor for many centuries.[63] I am unable to trace in Kaśmīrian or other sources the names of 'S̱hamīlān' and 'Bhatta.'[64] But as a subsequent remark mentions '*Gilgit*, *Aswira*, and *S̱hiltās*,' that is the modern Gilgit, Hasor (Astor), and Cilās, as their chief places, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the Dard territory to the north-west of Kasmīr are meant, together with the Baltīs.

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[61] See note i. 57.

[62] See below, * 68.

In *Haracar.* iv 54, the 'Vitasta itself is designated 'Gaṅgā of the North' (*Uttaragaṅgā*) which would render the location of its source in the lake of Haramukuṭa still more intelligible from a traditional point of view.

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[63] Compare YULE, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 187 sq.; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Gegor.* p. 83.

[64] Alberūnī's *Bhatta* may possibly represent the term *Bhutta* or *Bhautta* (the modern Ks. Buṭ^{a}) which is applied in the Sanskrit Chronicles to the population of Tibetan descent generally, from Ladākh to Baltistān (see note i. 312). Alberūnī calls their language Turkish, but it must be remembered that he has spoken previously (i. p. 206) of 'the Turks of Tibet' as holding the country to the east of Kasmīr. There the Tibetans in Ladakh and adjacent districts are clearly intended.

Mount *Kulārjak* :

"Marching on the right side [of the river] you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain *Kulārjak*, which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain Dunbāwand (Damāwand). The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākeshar and Lauhāwar (Lahore),"

I have already shown[65] that the mountain here described is the Taṭakūtī Peak (33° 45′ lat. 74° 33′ long.) in the central part of the Pīr Pantsal range. Alberūnī puts the distance between this peak and the Kaśmīr plain at two Farsakh. This estimate is somewhat too low, in as much as the direct distance on the map between the peak and the nearest point of the level ground in the Valley is about fifteen miles.

The fortress *Lauhūr* :

He is, however, quite exact in placing the fortress *Lauhūr*, i. e. the present Lohᵃrin to the west of it. The entrance to the Lohᵃrin Valley lies almost due west of Taṭakūṭī. To the south of the peak was 'the fortress Rājagirī' which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa, vii. 1270; it lay probably somewhere in the upper Sūran Valley. Alberūnī speaks of these two hill fortress as 'the strongest places' he had ever seen.

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[65] See Note *E*, iv. 177, * 12.

He had personally had an opportunity of judging of their strength when accompanying Mahmūd's expedition against Kas′mīr. On that occasion he had made observation of the latitude of Lauhūr : Lohara to which he refers in another chapter of his work [66] The result of this observation, 33° 40′, as shown in the author's *Canon Masudicus*, very closely approaches the real one, which is 33° 48′ according to the Survey map.

It is very probable that he obtained at the same occasion the very accurate information regarding the distance from Lauhūr to the Kas′mīr capital. He gives it as fifty-six miles, "half the way being rugged country, the other half plain." Alberūnī's measurement according to the previously stated valuation, presents about sixty-nine English miles. This is but little in excess of the actual road distance *via* the Toṣᵃmaidān Pass as estimated by me, on the tour referred to in the above note. The description of the road, too, corresponds closely with the actual character of the route.

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[66] See *India*, i. p. 317, with Prof. Sachau's note ii. p. 341, and above Note *E*, iv. 177, * 12.

Alberūni closes his account of Kas'mīr geography with a reference to the town of *Rājāwarī* which is the Rājapurī of the Chronicles, the modern Rajauri.[67] In Hindu times it was the capital of a small hill-state, situated immediately to the south of the Pīr Pantsal range and often tributary to Kas'mīr Alberūni distinctly names it as the farthest place to which Muhammadan merchants of his time traded, and beyond which they never passed. We have already seen what the connection was which enabled him to collect reliable and detailed information of the region beyond that barrier. As another proof of the accurate knowledge thus acquired, we may finally mention his description of the Kas'mīr climate and its explanation, which is far more exact than any account available to us previous to the second quarter of this century.[68]

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[67] See Note vi. 286.

[68] See *India,* ip. 211, and below, * 77.

SECTION IV.—INDIAN NOTICES

Deficiency of non-Kas'mīrian notices :

15. Nothing, perhaps, can illustrate better the lamentable lack of exact geographical information in general sanskrit literature than to turn from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and Alberūnī, to what Indian authors not Kas'mīrians themselves, can tell us of the Valley. Were we to judge merely from the extreme scantiness of the data to be gleaned from their extant works, we might easily be led to assume that Kas'mīr was to them a country foreign and remote in every way. However, we observe the same vagueness and insufficiency of local references in the case of territories immediately adjoining the old centres of literary activity. It is hence evident that the conspicuous absence of useful information on Kas'mīr may be attributed equally well to the general character of that literature.

The name *Kas'mīra* with its derivative *Kās'mīra*, as the designation of the country and its inhabitants respectively, is found already in the Gaṇas to Pāṇini's great grammatical work, and in Patañjali's comments thereon.[69] The Mahābhārata, too, refers in several passages to the *Kās'mīras* and their rulers, but in a fashion so general and vague that nothing more but the situation of the country in the hill region to the north can be concluded therefrom.[70] The Purāṇas enumerate the Kas'mīras accordingly in their lists of northern nations. But none of the tribal names, partly semi-mythical, mentioned along with them in the Purāṇas examined by me, indicate any more distinct location of the country.[71]

VARĀHAMIHIRA :

Varāhamihira (circ. 500 A.D.) in his *Bṛhat-samhita* includes the Kās'mīras curiously enough in the north eastern division. Among the regions and peoples named under the same heading there are a number of purely legendary character like 'the kingdom of the dead' (*naṣṭarājya*), the 'goldregion,' 'the one-footed people,' etc. But besides these names and others of a different type which cannot be clearly identified, we recognize the names of tribes which undoubtedly must be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kas'mir. Thus we have the *Abhisāras*, *Daradas*, *Dāravas*, *Khaśas*, *Kīras*, and somewhat more distant the country of *Kulūta* (Kulu) and the *Kauṇindas* or *Kaulindras* (Ptolemy's *Kulindrīny*)[72].

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[69] See the references in *P.W.*, s.v. *Kās'mīra*, and in supplement, v.p. 1273. The references to other texts quoted in this paragraph have also been taken from that work except where otherwise specified.

[70] Compare in particular *Mahābh.* II. xxvii. 17.

[71] Compare *Vāvupur.* xlv. 120 ; xlvii. 45 ; *Padma-pur.* I. vi. 48, 62 ; *Bhāgavatapur.* XII. i. 39 ; *Visnupur.* IV. xxiv. 18.

Perhaps the most specificpi ece of information regarding Kas'mīr that Sanskrit literature outside the Valley can furnish, is conveyed in the term *Kasmīra* or *Kāśmīraja* which designates the saffron, and according to the lexicographers also the root of the *kuṣṭha* or costus speciosus. As both the saffron and the Kuṣṭha are since early times famous product of Kās'mīr, the origin of the term is clear enough.[73]

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[72] See *Brhatsamhitā*, xiv. 29 sqq. and *Ind. Ant.* 1893, pp. 172, 181 ; also ALBERUNI, *India*, i. p. 303.

[73] Regarding the saffron cultivation of Kas'mīr, compare LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 342, and below, * 78.
The *kuṣṭha*, now known in Kas'mīr by the name of *kuṭh*, is the aromatic root of the *Saussurea Lappa*

SECTION V.—THE KASHMIR CHRONICLES

Abundance of Kas'mīrian source :

16. The want of detailed and exact geographical information just noticed in old Indian literature generally stands in striking contrast to the abundance of data supplied for our knowledge of old Kas'mīr by the indigenous sources. The explanation is surely not to be found in the mere fact that Kas'mīrian authors naturally knew more of their own country than others, for whom that alpine territory was a distant, more or less inaccessible region. For were it so, we might reasonably expect to find ourselves equally well informed about the early topography of other parts of India, which have furnished their contingent to the phalanx of Sanskrit authors. Yet unfortunately this is by no means the case.

The advantageous position we enjoy in Kās'mīr is due to a combination of causes of which the most important ones may at once

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which grows in abundance on the mountains of Kas'mīr see LAWRENCE, p. 77. The *kuṭh* is still largely exported to China. It was, perhaps, one of the medicinal plants which Hiuen Tsiang paticularly notices among the Kas'mīr products ; see *Si-yu-ki*, i p. 148.

be here indicated. In the first place, we owe it to the preservation of connected records from a comparatively early date, which acquaint us with a large number of particular localities and permit us to trace their connection with the country's history.

Another important advantage results from the fact that Kas'mīr, thanks chiefly to its geographical position and the isolation resulting from it, has escaped those great ethnic and political changes which have from time to time swept over the largest portion of India. Local tradition has thus remained undisturbed and still clings to all prominent sites with that tenacity which is characteristic of alpine tracts all over the world. The information preserved by this local tradition in Kās'mīr, has often proved for our written records a most welcome supplement and commentary.

Finally, it must be remembered that in a small mountain country like Kas'mir where the natural topographical features are so strongly marked and so permanent, the changes possible in historical times as regards routes of communication, sites for important settlements, cultivated area, etc., are necessarily restricted. The clear and detailed evidence which the facts of the country's actual topography thus furnish, enables us to elucidate and utilize our earlier data, even where they are scanty, with far greater certainly and accuracy than would be possible in another territory.

KALHAṆA'S topographical data :

17. Epigraphical records on stone or copper, such as elsewhere in India form the safest basis for the study of local topography, have not yet come to light in Kas′mīr. The few fragmentary inscriptions hitherto found are all of a late date, and do not furnish any topographical information. In their absence Kalhaṇa's RAJATARANGINI is not only the amplest, but also the most authentic of our sources for the geography of Kas′mīr. The question connected with the historical value of the work, its scope and sources, have been fully discussed in the introduction. Here we have only to consider its character as our chief source of information on the ancient topography of Kas′mīr.

It is doubtful whether Kalhaṇa, writing for readers of his own country and time, would have deemed it necessary to give us a connected and matter-of-fact description of the land, even if the literature which he knew and which was his guide, had in any of its products furnished him with a model or suggestion for such description. The nearest approach to it is contained in a brief passage of his introduction. i. 25-38. This acquaints us in a poetical form with the legends concerning the creation of Kas'mīr and its sacred river, the Vitastā, and enumerates, besides, the most famous of the many Tīrthas of which Kas'mir has ever boasted in abundance. The few panegyric remarks which are added in praise of the land's spititual and material comforts, i. 39-43, do credit to the author's love of his native soil. But they can scarcely be held to raise them above to a real description of the country.

Notwithstanding the absence of such a description, Kalhaṇa's Chronicle yet proves by far our richest source of information for the historical geography of Kaśmīr. This is due to the mass of incidental notices of topographical interest which are spread through the whole length of the narrative. They group themselves conveniently under three main heads.

KALHANA'S Topographia sacra:

18. Considering the great attention which the worship of holy places has at all times claimed in Kaśmīr, we may well speak first of the notices which appertain to the *Topographia sacra* of the Valley. Kaśmīr has from early times to the present day been a land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimages. Kalhaṇa duly emphasizes this fact when he speaks, in the abovequoted introductory passage,[74] of Kaśmīr as a country "where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tīrtha" Time and even the conversion to Islām of the greatest portion of the population, has changed but little in this respect. For besides the great Tīrthas which still retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity, there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and its Ziārat for the Muhammadan Established as the latter shrines almost invariably are, by the side of the Hindu places of worship and often with the very stones taken from them, they plainly attest the abiding nature of local worship in Kaśmīr.

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[74] i. 38.

This cannot be the place to examine in detail the origin and character of these Tīrthas and their importance for the religious history of the country. It will be enough to note that the most frequent objects of such ancient local worship are the springs or Nāgas, the sacred streams and rivers, and finally, the so-called *svayambhū*, or self-created' images of gods which are recognized by the eye of the pious in various natural formations. These several classes of Tīrthas can be traced throughout India wherever Hindu religious notions prevail, and particularly in the sub-Himālayan regions (Nepāl, Kumaon, Kāngra, Udyāna or Swat). Yet there can be no doubt that Kāśmīr has from old times claimed an exceptionally large share in such manifestations of divine favour.

Nature has, indeed, endowed the Valley and the neighbouring mountains with an abundance of fine springs. As each of these has its tutelary deity in the form of a NĀGA,[75] we can realize why popular tradition looks upon Kāśmīr as the favourite residence of these deities.[76] Hiuen Tsiang already had ascribed the superiority of Kaśmīr over other countries to the protection it received from a Nāga.[77] Kalhaṇa, too, in the introductory passage already referred to, gives due prominence to the distinction which the land enjoys as the dwelling-place of Nīla, king of Nāgas, and many others of his tribe.[78]

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[75] Compare my note i. 30 on the Nāgas and their worship.

Kalhaṇa's frequent references to sacred springs and other Tīrthas are of topographical interest, because they enable us to trace with certainty the earlier history of most of the popular pilgrimage places still visited to the present day. The introduction of the Chronicle names specially the miraculous springs of Pāpasūdana and Tri-Samdhyā, Sarasvatī's lake on the Beeda hill, the 'Selfcreated Fire' (Svayambhū), and the holy sites of Nandikṣetra, Śārdā, Cakradhara and Vijayeśa. We see here which were the Tīrthas most famous in Kalhaṇa's time. The legends connected with the early semi-mythical kings give him frequent occasion in the first three Books to speak in detail of particular sacred sites. Almost each one of the stories furnishes evidence for the safe location of the latter.[79] But even in the subsequent and purely historical portions of the work we read often of pilgrimages to such sacred places, or of events which occurred at them.

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[76] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, 900-972, gives a long list of Kas'mīr Nāgas, and puts their number at thousands, nay Arbudas (see 971).

[77] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 148.

Hiuen Tsiang, like other Chinese pilgrims, calls the Nāgas by the term of 'dragon,' no doubt because the popular conception represents them under the form of snakes living in the water of the springs or lakes they protect.

[78] i. 28-31.

The Nāgas are supposed to have come to Kas'mīr when Kas'yapa, their father, had drained 'the lake of Satī', and to have found there a refuge from Garuḍa; comp. *Nīlamata*, 59 sqq.

Kalhaṇa shows more than once so accurate a knowledge of the topography of particular Tīrthas that we may reasonably infer his having personally visited them. This presumption is particularly strong in the case of Nindikṣetra, and of the neighbouring shrine of Bhūteśvara.[80] The former, his father Caṇpaka is said to have often visited in pilgrimage, and to have richly endowed. Also the distant Tīrtha of Śāradā in Kiśangaṅgā Valley seems to have been known personally to the Chronicler.[81] Pilgrimages to sacred sites, even when approached only with serious trouble, have always enjoyed great popularity among Kaśmīrians. And Kalhaṇa owed perhaps no small part of his practical acquaintance with his country's topography, to the tours he had made as a pilgrim.

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[79] Compare the lengends of the *Sodara* spring, i. 123 sqq.; of the *Kṛtyās'rama* Vihāra, i. 131 sqq ; of the Jyestharudra at *Nandiksetra* and *Śrīnagarī*, i. 113, 124 ; the story of the *Sus'ravas* Nāga, i. 203 sqq. ; the description of the pilgrimage to the *Takṣaka* Nāga, i. 220 sqq. ; the story of the *Īs'es'vara* temple, ii. 134 ; of *Raṇasvāmin*, iii. 439 sqq., etc.

Foundation of towns, etc., recorded :

19. Specially valuable from a topographical point of view are those numerous references which Kalhaṇa makes to the foundation of towns, villages, estates, shrines, and buildings by particular kings. Leaving aside the curious list, i. 86-100, taken by Kalhaṇa from Padmamihira, in which certain local names are by fanciful etymologies connected with seven of the 'lost kings' [82] it may be safely assumed that these attributions are based either on historical fact, or at least on genuine local tradition.

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[80] See vii. 954 ; viii. 2365, and note v. 55 sqq. Compare also below, ‡ 57.

[81] See Note *L*. viii. 2492, ‡ 4.

Kalhaṇa specially informs us in his introduction[83] that among the documents he had consulted for his work, there were 'the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants [of land] by former kings'. Such records, no doubt, supplied a great portion of the numerous notives above reffered to. But even where such notices were taken from less authentic sources, they may always claim the merit of acquainting us with the names of the respective localities and buildings as used in the official language of Kalhaṇa's time and with the traditions then current regarding their origin and date.

The system of nomenclature which was regularly followed in Kaśmīr in naming new foundations, must have helped to preserve a genuine tradition regarding the founder. In the vast majority of cases the names of new towns and villages are formed by the addition of *-pura* to the name of the founder, either in its full or obbreviated form.[84] Similarly the names of temples, monasteries, Maṭhas, and other religious structures show name of their builder, followed by terms indicating the deity or the religious object to which the building was dedicated.[85] Many of these

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[82] See regarding this unhistorical list, note i. 86. The local names, like *Khonamuṣa*, *G dharā*, *Śamāṅ āsā*, etc., are all genuine enough. What Padmamihira did, was to evolve fictitious names of kings out of these by means of popular etymology.

[83] i. 15.

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[84] Thus we have, e.g. the well-known localities of *Huṣk*apura, *Kaniṣkapura*, *Juṣkapura* (which retain the memory of their Indo-Scythian founders); *Pravarapura* (for Pravara-senapura), the old official designation of the present capital; *Padmapura*, *Avantipura*, *Jayapura* (for Jayāpīdapura), and a host of others. The custom of naming new localities in this fashion, or of re-naming earlier ones in honour of the actual ruler, can be traced through successive periods of Muhammadan and Sikh rule down to the present day; comp. e.g. *Zain*^{a} *por* (named after Zainu-l-ābidīn); *Shahābuddīnpūr* (the present Shād^{i} pūr); *Muhammadpur*; *Raṇbīrsinghpūr* (intended to replace Shāhābād), etc.

[85] Thus in the case of S'iva-temples *īs'a* or *-is'vara* is invariably added (comp. e,g. Pravares'vara, etc.), as in that of Viṣṇu-shrines with equal regularity-*svāmin* (kes'ava); comp. e.g. *Muktāsvāmin* (built by Muktāpīda), *Avantisvāmin*, *Bhīmakes'ava* (erected by Bhīmapāla Śāhi), etc.

Buddhist monasteries receive the name of their founder with the addition of *-vihāra* or *-bhavana*; comp. *Jayendravihāra*, *Caṅkuṇavihāra*, *Amṛtabhavana* (founded by the queen Amṛtaprabhā, the present religious structures left their names to the sites at which they were erected. They can thus be traced to the present day in the designations of villages or city quarters.[86]

The topographical interest which Kalhaṇa's notices of towns foundations possess, is considerably enhanced by the fact that in more than one case they are accompanied by accurate descriptions of the sites chosen and the buildings connected with them. Thus Kalhaṇa's detailed account of the foundation of *Pravarapura*, iii. 336-363 is curiously instructive even in its legendary particulars, and enables us to trace with great precision the original position and limits of the city which was destined to remain thereafter the capital of Kaśmīr.[87] Similarly the description given of *Parihāsapura* and its great shrines, has made it possible for me to fix with accuracy the

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Antabavan), *Skandabhavana* (for Skandaguptabhavana), and many more

For Mathas, compare e.g. *Diddāmaṭha*, (Didamar); *Subhaṭāmaṭha*, *Nandāmaṭha*, *Lothikāmaṭha*, *Cakramaṭha*, etc. For details on the nomenclature of sacred buildings in Kas'mīr, compare *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 4 sqq.

[86] Compare e g. notes iii. 9; iv. 192; vi. 137, 300, etc.

[87] See note iii. 339-349, and below, § 92.

sites of the town which Lalitāditya's fancy elevated for a short time to the rank of a capital, and to identify the remains of the great buildings which once adorned it.[88] Not less valuable from an antiquarian point of view is the account given to us of the twin towns *Jayapura* and *Dvāravatī* which King Jayāpīda founded as his royal residence near the marshes of Andᵃrkoth.[89]

KALHAṆA'S incidental references:

20. Valuable as the data are which we gather from the two groups of notices just discussed, it may yet justly be doubted whether by themselves, that is, unsupported by other information, they could throw so much light on the old topography of Kaśmīr as the notices which we have yet to consider. I mean the whole mass of incidental references to topographical matters which we find inter-woven with the historical narrative of the Chronicle.

It is evident that where localities are mentioned in close connection with a pragmatic relation of events, the context, if studied with due regard to the facts of the actual topography, must help us considerably towards a correct identification of the places meant. In the case of the previous notices the Chronicler has but rarely occasion to give us distinct indications as to the position of the sites or shrines he intended. In our attempts to identify the latter we have therefore only too often to depend either on the accidental fact of other texts furnishing the required evidence or to fall back solely on the comparison of the old with modern local names. That the latter course if not guided and controlled by other safer evidence, is likely to lead us into mistakes, is a fact which requires no demonstration for the critical student.

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[88] Compare Note *F*, iv. 194-204 and below, * 121.

[89] See note iv. 506 511.

It is different with the notices, the consideration of which we have left to the last. Here the narrative itself, in the great majority of cases, becomes our guide.

It either directly points out to us the locality meant or at least restricts to very narrow limits the area within which our search must proceed. The final identification can then be safely effected with the help of local tradition, by tracing the modern derivative of the old local name or through other additional evidence of this kind.

For the purpose of such a systematic search it is of course a very great advantage if the narrative is closely connected and detailed. And it is on this account that Kalhana's lengthy relation of what was to him recent history, in Books vii and viii., is for us so valuable. An examination of the topographical notes on my commentary will show that the correct identification of many of the localities mentioned in the detached notices of the first six Books has become possible only by means of the evidence furnished by the more detailed narrative of the last two.

In this respect the accounts of the endless rebellions and other internal troubles which fill the greater portion of the reigns of the Lohara dynasty, have proved particularly useful. The descriptions of the many campaigns, frontier-expeditions and sieges connected with these risings, supply us with a great amount of topographical details mutually illustrating each other. By following up these operations on the map,—or better still on the actual ground, as I was often able to do,– it is possible to fix with precision the site of many old localities which otherwise could never have emerged from the haze of doubt and conjecture.

A reference to the notes in in which important sites and local names like Lohara, Gopādri, Mahāsarit, Kṣiptikā, Holaḍā, have been identified, will suffice to illustrate the above remarks.[90]

KALHANA'S topographical accuracy:

21. It is impossible to read attentively Kalhaṇa's Chronicle and, in particular those portions which give fuller occasion for the notice of localities, without being struck with the exactness of his statements regarding the latter, and with, that I may call, his eye for matters topographical.

We must appreciate these qualities all the more if we compare Kalhaṇa's local references with that vague and loose treatment which topographical points receive at the hands of Sanskrit authors generally.[91] If it has been possible to trace with accuracy the vast majority of localities mentioned in the Chronicle, this is largely due to the precision which Kalhaṇa displays in his topographical terminology. It is evident that he had taken care to acquaint himself with the localities which formed the scene of the events be described.

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[90] Compare notes *E* (iv. 177) ; i. 341, and viii. 1104-10 ; iii. 732 ; i. 306.

[91] Nor should we forget the difficulty which Kalhaṇa had to face by writing in metrical form. True indeed it is what Alberūnī says of this form as adopted by Hindu scientific writers : "Now it is well known that in all metrical compositions there is much misty and constrained phraseology merely intended to fill up the metre and serving as a kind of patchwork, and this necessitates a certain amount of verbosity. This

Striking evidence for this is furnished by his description of the great operations which were carried out under Avantivarman with a view to regulating the course of the Vitastā and draining the valley.[92] Thanks to the exactness with which the relative position of the old and new confluence of the Vitastā and Sindu is described, before and after the regulation, respectively, it has been possible, even after so many centuries, to trace in detail the objects and results of an important change in the hydrography of the Valley.[93] Equal atten-

is also one of the reasons why a word has sometimes one meaning and sometimes another" (*India*, i p. 19).

Fortunately Kalhaṇa has managed to escape these dangers as far as the topographical notices of his work are concerned. We find in his local terminology neither that mistiness nor multiplicity of meaning Alberūnī so justly complains of.

[92] Compare v. 84-121.

tion to topographical details we find in numerous accounts of military operations. Of these it will suffice to quote here the descriptions of the several sieges of *Śrīnagar*, under Sussala ;[94] the battle on the *Gopādri* hill in the same reign ;[95] the blockade of *Lohara*, with the disastrous retreat through the mountains that followed ;[96] and—last but not least—the siege of the *Śirahśilā* castle. The topographical accuracy of the latter account, as proved in Note *L*, viii. 2492, almost presupposes a personal examination of the site and is all the more noteworthy, because the scene of the events there recorded was a region outside Kaśmīr proper, distant, and difficult of access.

There are also smaller points that help to raise our estimate of Kalhaṇa's reliability in topographical matters. Of such I may mention, for example, the general accuracy of his statements regarding distances, whether given in road or timemeasure. The number of marches reckoned by him is thus always easily verified by a reference to the stages counted

[93] Compare Note I, v. 97-100.

[94] See viii. 729 sqq., 1060 sqq.

[95] Compare viii. 1099-1115.

[96] See viii. 1842-80 and Note *E*, iv. 177, * 1C.

on the corresponding modern routes.[97] Not less gratifying is it to find how careful Kalhaṇa is to distinguish between homonymous localities.[98]

In addition to all this, we must give credit to our author for the just observation of many characteristic features in the climate, ethnography, and economical condition of Kaśmīr and the neighbouring regions. If the advantages thus accorded to us are duly weighed, there seems every reason to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the earliest and fullest record of Kaśmīr history that has come down to us, was written by a scholar of Kalhaṇa's type. Whatever the shortcomings of his work may be from the critical historian's point of view, we must accord it the merit of supplying the safe and ample basis for the study of the historical geography of Kaśmīr.

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[97] Compare for distance measurements, note i. 264 ; v. 103 ; vii. 393 ; for reckoning of marches on the Vitastā Valley route, v 225 ; on Vigraharāja's irruption over the Toṣ^a maidān Pass, vii. 140 ; on the route to the Pīr Pan^{ta}āl Pass, vii. 558 ; on the way to Mārtāṇḍa, vii.715, etc.

[98] Compare notes i. 113 ; i. 124 ; v. 123 on the several *Jyeśṭharudras*, and the way in which Kalhaṇa specifies them.

Sanskrit local names in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

22 Another point still remains to be considered here in connection with Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, viz. to what extent can we accept the Sanskrit forms found in his text as the genuine local names of the period? This question must naturally arise in view of the fact that the popular language actually spoken in Kaśmīr in Kalhaṇa's time and for many centuries earlier, was not Sanskrit, but undoubtedly an Apabhramśa dialect derived from it, which has gradually developed into the modern Kaśmīrī.

Notwithstanding this circumstance I think that Kalhaṇa's local names can, on the whole, be safely accepted as representing the genuine designations of the localities, i.e. as those originally given to them. My grounds for this belief are the following. We have ample evidence to show that Sanskrit was the official and sole literary language of the country, not only in Kalhaṇa's own time, but also in those earlier periods from which any of the record used by him may have dated. This official use of Sanskrit we know to have continued in Kaśmīr even into Muhammadan times. It assures us at once that the vast majority of village and town names must from the beginning have been given in Sanskrit. A detailed examination of them easily demonstrates, on the one hand, that these names are of genuinely Sanskritic formation, and on the other, that their modern Kaśmīrī representatives are derived from them by a regular process of phonetic conversion. We look in vain among this class of old local names for any which would show a foreign, i.e. non-Aryan origin, and might be suspected of having only subsequently been pressed into a Sanskritic garb.

Official names of localities.

The fact of Sanskrit having been in use as the language of all official records for many centuries previous to Kalhaṇa's time is enough to demonstrate that the Sanskrit names originally intended for the great mass of inhabited places could be preserved, in official documents anyhow, without any difficulty or break of tradition. And from such documents most of Kalhaṇa's notices of places were undoubtedly derived, directly or indirectly.

Only in rare cases can we suppose that the original form of a local name of this kind had been lost sight of, and that accordingly the

Chronicler, or his authority, had to fall back on the expedient of Sanskritizing in its stead the Apabhramśa or Kaśmīrī form as well as he could, There are, in fact, a few instances in which we have indications of such a metamorphosis. When we find the same local name spelt either *Bhaleraka* or *Bāleraka* in the Chronicle, or a village which Kalhaṇa calls *Ghoramūlaka*, referred to by Abhinanda, the author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra (first half of ninth century), as *Gauramūlaka*,[99] it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here varying attempts to produce in a Sanskritic garb original Apabhramśa names. But these cases are very rare indeed, and even in them other explanations of the different spellings are possible.

These observations apply with nearly the same force also to other local names recorded in the Chronicle, such as those of mountains, streams, passes, etc. The great majority of these names have very early found their place in official documents or, as we shall see below, in the Sanskrit legendaries or Māhātmyas of the numerous Tīrthas. If any of them are in reality adaptations of Prakrit or Apabhramśa forms, their quasi-official use is yet likely to have originated a long time before the date of Kalhaṇa. Even to the present day the local nomenclature of Kaśmīr, whether in the Valley or in the mountains, shows throughout an unmistakably Sanskritic character.

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[99] Compare notes viii. 1861, and vii, 1239; viii 2410.

Local nomenclature in Kaśmīr:

This is most clearly illustrated by the constant recurrence of such terms as *-pūr* or *por* (<puro), *-mar* (<maṭha), -^{a}*hom* (<*ā*śrama), *-hām* (<*ś*ā*l*ā). *-koṭh* (<koṭṭa), *-gām* <grāma), *-kuṇḍ*^{a}*l* (<kuṇḍala). *-vor* (<vāṭa) in village names; of *-sar* (<saras), *-nambal* (<naḍvalā), *-nā*g (<nāga) in names of lakes, marshes, etc.; of *-van* (<vana), *-nār* (<nāḍa), *-marg* (<maṭhikā) *-gul* (< galikā), *brā*r (<bhaṭṭārikā), *-vathi* (<patha), in designations of alpine localities, peaks, passes, etc. ; *-kul* (<kulyā), *-khan* (< khani) in names of streams and canals. The Sanskrit etymology of the specific names preceding these terms, is, even in their modern phonetic form, very often equally transparent. At an earlier stage of the language the Apabhramśa names must have approached the corresponding Sanskrit forms much more closely. The reproduction of the popular names in a Sanskrit form could have then but rarely been attended with much difficulty or doubt. We may hence safely assume that the Sanskrit forms recorded by Kalhaṇa represent in most cases correctly the original local names or else do not differ much from them.

Later Kaśmīr Chronicles :

23. The later Sanskrit Chronicles which were composed with the distinct object of continuing Kalhaṇa's work, furnish valuable supplements to the topographical information contained in the latter. These Chronicles are: the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja who continued the narrative down to the reign of Sultān Zainu-l-ābidīn, and died over his work, A.D. 1459;[100] the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* composed by Jonarāja's pupil Śrīvara which deals in four Books with the period A. D. 1459-86;[101] and finally, the Fourth Chronicle which was begun under the name *Rājāvalīpatākā* by Prājyabhaṭṭa, and completed by his pupil Śuka some years after the annexation of Kaśmīr by Akbar, A.D. 1586.[102]

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[100] See *Śrīv*. i. 6.

[101] See Fourth Chron. 6.

[102] Compare Fourth Chron. 8 sqq.

Prājyabhaṭṭa's composition ended with the year A.D. 1513-14 and the reign of Fataḥ Shah (verses 14-64).

It will be seen from the above dates that the narrative of the last two works falls entirely beyond the period of Hindu rule to which our inquiry is limited, and which may be considered to close finally with the usurpation of Shāh Mīr A.D. 1339. The same holds good of the greater portion of Jonarāja's Chronicle, in which the reigns of the late Hindu rulers, from Jayasiṁha to Queen Koṭā, are disposed of with a brevity corresponding more to their own insignificance than to the intrinsic historical interest of the epoch.[103] Notwithstanding this difference in date, the materials supplied by these later Chronicles have often proved of great use in clearing up points of the old topography of Kaśmīr. For the mass of the localities mentioned in them goes back to the Hindu period. Also the names by which they are referred to, are still mostly the old ones.

Yet on the whole the inferiority of these later Chronicles when compared with Kalhaṇa's work, is as marked in the matter of topographical information as it is in other respects. In the first place, it must be noted that the total extent of these three distinct works does not amount to more than about one half of Kalhaṇa's text. For references to sacred sites and buildings and other places of religious interest, the account of Muhammadan reigns offers naturally but little occasion. The incidental notices of other localities are also in proportion less numerous and instructive. For these later authors allow considerably more room to episodic descriptions, and do by no means show that care for accuracy in topographical statements which we have noticed in Kalhaṇa.

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[103] The narrative of the period A.D. 1149-1339 fills only 305 verses in Jonarāja's Chronicle (347 according to the Bombay edition).

JONARAJA :

Hindu learning in Kaśmīr suffered considerably during the period of troubles and oppression which lasted with short interruptions for two and a half centuries previous to Akbar's conquest. It is curious to note this gradual decline also in the character and contents of these later Chronicles. JONARAJA was a scholar of considerable attainments, but apparently without any originality. With the old nomenclature of the Valley he shows himself yet well-acquainted. But outside it he commits himself to forms like *Puruṣavīra* (*recte* Puruṣapura, the present Peshawar), etc.

ŚRĪVARA:

S'RIVARA is a slavish imitator of Kalhaṇa, not above reproducing whole verses of his predecessor. His text looks in a great portion more like a *cento* from the Rājataraṅgiṅī, than an original composition. Notwithstanding the thorough study of Kaihaṇa's work which this kind of explotation presupposes, we find S'rīvara more than once betraying ignorance of the old names for well-known Kaśmīr localities. Thus we have the name of the Mahāsarit stream transformed into *Mārī*, an evident adaptation of the modern *Mār*; [104] Siddhapatha, the present Sedau, represented as *Siddhādeśa*; [105] the Tīrtha of Mārtāṇḍa regularly referred to by its modern name ***Bhavana*** (Bavan), [106] etc.

The Fourth Chronicle:

The work of PRAJYABHATTA and S'UKA, inferior even to S'rīvara's Chronicle, proves by the increased number of modern local names its authors' scant familiarity with the old topography of Kaśmīr. Thus the ancient

[104] See *Śrīv*. i. 440; iii. 278; compare note ***Rāiat***. iii. 339-349.

[105] *Śrīv*. iii 354; iv. 203, 661.

[106] *Srīv*. i 376; iii. 372.

Kṛtyāśrama, the scene of Kalhaṇa's Buddhist legend, figures repeatedly in their narrative as *Kīcāśrama*, i.e by its modern name Kitsᵃhom ; [107] even the well-known Rājapuri is metamorphosed into *Rājavira* (!) a queer reproduction of the modern *Rajaurī* ; [108] the old castle of Lohara reappears as *Luhara*, an evident approach to the present Lohᵃrin ; [109] the ancient site of Cakradhara is turned into *Cakrādhāra*, [110] etc.

It is evident that when Sanskrit ceased to be the language used for official purposes, the knowledge of the ancient names of localities and of the traditions connected with the latter must have become gradually more and more restricted. In view of this decrease of traditional knowledge we have to exercise some caution when utilizing the topographical data of the later historical texts. At the same time it is easy to realize that their help is often of considerable value when connecting links have to be traced between those earlier data and the facts of modern topography.

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[107] See Fourth Chronicle, 234, 240, 384 ; compare also note on *Rājat*. i. 147.

[108] Fourth Chron 542 sqq.

[109] *Ib*. 134, 143 sqq.

[110] *Ib*. 330.

Persian Tārīkhs of Kaśmīr:

24. We may refer here briefly to the Persian Tārīkhs of Kaśmīr which, to some extent, can be looked upon as continuing the labours of Kalhaṇa and his Paṇḍit successors. Unfortunately they furnish no material assistance for the study of the old topography of the country. All these works contain in their initial portion an account of the Hindu dynasties which pretends to be translated from the Rājataraṅgiṇī Yet the abstract there given is in each case very short, and chiefly devoted to a reproduction of the legendary and anecdotal parts of Kalhaṇa's narrative. We thus look there in vain for the modern equivalents of those local names, the identification of which is attended with any difficulty.

In illustration of this it may be mentioned that even the Tārīkh of HAIDAR MALIK CADURA (Tsād^{u}r), [111] which is the earliest work of this class accessible to me and the fullest in its account of the Hindu period, compresses the narrative of Jayasi*m*ha's reign, filling about 2000 verses in the R*ā*jatara*ṅ*gi*ṇī* into two quarto pages. Of the localities mentioned in the original account of this reign not a single one is indicated by the Muhammadan Chronicler. The later works, which all belong to the eighteenth or the present century, are still more reticent on the Hindu period, and seem to have largely copied Haidar Malik's abstract. Taking into account the endless corruptions to which local names written in Persian characters are exposed, it will be readily understood why reference to these texts on points of topographical interest yields only in rare cases some tangible result.

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[111] Written A. H. 1027, i. e. A. D. 1617, in the twelfth year of Jahāngīr's reign.

Haidar Malik takes his epithet *Cādura, recte Tsād^{u}r*, from the Kaśmīr village of that name situated in the Nāgām Pargaṇa, some ten miles south of Śrinagar, close to the village of Vah^{a} tor.

Kāśmīr poets :

25. It is a fortunate circumstance that several of the older Kaśmīr poets whose works have been preserved for us, have had the good **sense to let** us know something **about their** own persons and homes. The topographical details which can be gleaned from these authors, though comparatively few, are yet of distinct value. They enable us to check by independent evidence Kalha*ṇ*a's local nomenclature, and in some instances acquaint us with localities of which we find no notice in the Chronicles.

KṢEMENDRA :

The first and most helpful of these Kaśmīrian authors is the well-known polyhistor KṢEMENDRA. His works, composed in the second and third quarter of the eleventh century, form important landmarks in several fields of Indian literature. Kṣemendra seems to have had a genuine interest, rare enough among Indian scholars, for the realities of his country and the life around him. He does not content himself with informing us of his family, the date of his works and the places where he wrote them.[112]

In the *Samayamātṛkā*, one of his most original poems which is intended to describe the snares of courtesans, he gives us among other stories an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kaṅkālī, through the length and breadth of Kaśmīr. [113]

[1 2] Compare the colophons of the various works first discovered and noticed by Prof. BUHLER, *Report*, pp. 45 sqq. and Appendix.

[113] This humorous peregrination fills the ii. Samaya of the work ; see *Kāvyamālā* edition, pp. 6-16.

The abundance of curious local details makes a commentated translation of the little Kāvya very

The numerous places which form the scene of her exploits can all easily enough be traced on the map. More than once curious touches of true local colour impart additional interest to these references. To Kṣemendra's poem we owe, e.g., the earliest mention of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass (*Pañcāladhārā*) and its hospice (*maṭha*).[114] There, too, we get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade which still follows that route with preference. Elsewhere we are taken into an ancient Buddhist convent, the *Kṛtyāśrama* Vihāra, where Kaṅkālī's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal,[115] etc.

BILHAṆA :

A different sketch of topograpical interest we owe to the poet BILHAṆA. He left his native land early in the reign of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89), and after long wanderings

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desirable, notwithstanding the risky nature of parts of its contents A personal knowledge of Kaśmīr would certainly be required for the task.

[114] See *Samayam.* ii. 90 sqq.

The *matha* on the pass corresponds to the present 'Alīabād Serai, a short distance below the top of the pass on the Kaśmīr side. See below, *44.

[115] *Samayam.* ii. 61 sqq.; compare note *Rajat.* i. 147.

became famous as the court-poet of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Parmāḍi in the Dekan. In the last Canto of his historical poem, the *Vikramānkadevacarita*, Bilhaṇa gives us a glowing picture of the beauties of the Kaśmīr capital. Notwithstanding its panegyrical character, this description is laudably exact in its local details.[116] In another passage the poet then describes to us his rural home and its surroundings at the village of *Khonamuṣa*, south-east of Śrīnagar. His touching verses attest as much his yearning for his distant home as the faithfulness of his local recollections.[117]

MAṄKHA:

Similar in character though less ample in detail is the description of Kaśmīr and Pravarapura, its capital, which MANKHA, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, inserts in the third Canto of his Kāvya *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita.*[118] Here we have the advantage of a commentary written by Jonarāja the Chronicler, which duly notices and explains the points of local interest.

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[116] Prof. BUHLER, to whom we owe the discovery of Bilhaṇa's chief work, has given in his Introduction an admirable analysis of the contents of Sarga xviii. as illustrating the poet's biography. For his description of contemporary Śrīnagara, see pp. 7 sqq.

[117] *Vikram*. xviii. 70 sqq.

Prof Buhler during his Kaśmīr tour, 1875, had the satisfaction of visiting the poet's native place, the present village of *Khunᵃ moh*, and verifying on the spot every point of the description which Bilhaṇa gives of that "coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himālaya"; see *Report*, pp. 4 sqq.

The Lokaprakāśa :

26. To complete our review of those Kaśmīrian texts of topographical interest which may be distinguished as secular, we must refer briefly to the curious glossary and manual which goes by the name of *Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa.* Professor A. Weber has recently published valuable extracts from this text.[119] I myself have had frequent occasion to refer to it in my notes on the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[120] The work represents a strange mixture of the usual Kośa and a practical handbook dealing with various topics of administration and private life in Kaśmīr. Though a great deal of the information given in it is decidedly old, and probably from the hand of our well-known Kṣemendra, there are unmistakable proofs both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the seventeenth century. This is exactly what we must expect in a work which had remained in the practical use of the Kaśmīrian 'Kārkuns' long after the time when Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language of the country.

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[118] See *Śrīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 10-24, 68 sqq.

[119] See *Zu Kṣemendra's Lokaprākāśa in Indische Studien*, xviii. pp. 289-412.

[120] See particularly Note *H* (iv. 495) on the Kaśmīr Monetary System, * 10.

The Lokaprakāśa supplies us with the earliest list of Kaśmīr Parganas. Besides this we find there the names of numerous localities inserted in the forms for bonds.*Hundīs*. contracts, official reports, and the like which form the bulk of Prakāśas ii. and iv. The Pargaṇa list as well as these forms contain local names of undoubtedly ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. Some of the latter in fact belong to places which were only founded during the Muhammadan rule.[121]

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[121] Compare, e.g., in Prakāśa ii. *Jainanagara*, founded by Zainu-l-'ābidin (see *Jonar. 1153*) ; *Alā bhadenapura* (*Śrīv.* iv. 318), etc.

SECTION VI.—THE NILAMATA AND MAHATMYAS

The Nilamatapurāṇa :

27. We have already above drawn attention to the fact that Kaśmīr has since early times been pre-eminently a country of holy sites and places of pilgrimage of all kinds. These objects of ancient local worship have always played an important part in the historical topography of the Valley and the adjacent mountain-regions. It is hence no small advantage that there are abundant materials at our disposal for the special study of this *topographia sacra* of Kaśmīr.

The oldest extant text which deals in detail with Kaśmīrian Tirthas, is the *Nīlamatapurāṇa.* This work which Kalhaṇa used as one of his sources of information,[122] claims to give the sacred legends regarding the origin of the country, and the special ordinances which Nīla, the lord of Kaśmīr Nāgas, had revealed for the worship and rites to be observed in it [123] It is unnecessary to refer here to the legends which are related at the commencement of the work, and to 'the rites proclaimed by Nīla' which are next detailed, and with the former occupy about two-thirds of the extant text.[124] These parts have been fully discussed by Prof. Buhler in his lucid analysis of the Nīlamata.[125] The remaining portions, however, deserve special notice. For, to use Prof. Buhler's words, "they form a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kaśmīr and their legends."

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[122] *Rājāt.* i. 14.
[123] *Rājat.* i. 178-184.

In the first place we find there a list of the principal Nāgas or sacred springs of Kaśmīr vv. 900-975. This is followed by the interesting legend regarding the *Mahāpadma* lake, the present Volur, which is supposed to occupy the place of the submerged city of Candrapura vv, 976-1008).[126] The Purāṇa then proceeds to an enumeration of miscellaneous Tīrthas cheifly connected with Śiva's worship (vv.1009-48). To this is attached a very detailed account, designated as *Bhūteśvaramāhātmya*, of the legends connected with the numerous lakes and sites on Mount Haramukuṭa sacred to Śiva and Pārvati (vv. 1049-1148).[127] Of a similar Māhātmya relating to the Kapaṭeśvara Tīrtha, the present Koṭhēr,[128] only a fragment is found in our extant text (vv. 1149-68). The list of Viṣṇu-Tīrthas which succeeds it (vv. 1169-1248), is comparatively short, as indeed the position of this god is a secondary one in the popular worship of Kaśmīr.

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[124] *Nīlamata*, vv 1-366, contains the legends, vv. 367-899 the rites above referred to.

[125] See *Report*, pp. 38 sqq.

[126] Compare below, * 74, and *Report*, p. 10.

[127] Compare below, * 57, and notes i. 36 107, 113.

After a miscellaneous list is sacred Saṁgamas or river confluences, Nāgas and lakes (vv. 1249-78), we are treated to a somewhat more detailed synopsis of the chief Tīrthas of Kaśmīr (vv. 1271-1371). This is of special interest, because an attempt is made here to describe these Tīrthas in something like topographical order, and to group with them such localities as are visited along with them on the same pilgrimage. It is thus possible to determine, with more certainty than in the case of other Tīrtha lists, the particular holy sites really intended by the author This synopsis starts in the east with the fountain of the Nīlnāga (Vērnāg), and follows with more or less accuracy the course of the Vitastā and its tributaries down to the gorge of Varāhamūla. A short *Vitastāmāhātmya*, describing the original and miraculous powers of this holiest of Kaśmīr rivers (vv. 1371-1404), closes the text of the Nīlamata, such as it is found in our manuscripts.

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[128] See below, * 112, and note i. 32.

Text of the *Nīlamata*

This text is unfortunately in a very bad condition, owing to numerous lacunæ and textual corruption of all kinds. Prof. Bühler held that the Nīlamata in its present form could not be older than the sixth or seventh century of our era.[129] It appears to me by no means improbable that the text has undergone changes and possibly additions at later periods. On the whole, however, the local names found in it bear an ancient look, and agree closely with the forms used by Kalhaṇa

The fact of all extent copies of the work showing practically the same defective state of text, seems to indicate that the changes and additions to which I alluded above, cannot be quite recent If such a revision had been made at a time comparatively near to the date of our oldest MS. we could, after the analogy of other instances, expect an outwardly far more correct i.e. 'cooked,' text. The operation here suggested was actually performed some thirty years ago by the late Paṇḍit Sāhibrām. Receiving the orders of Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh to prepare the text of the Nīlamata for edition, he 'revised' the work, with scant respect for its sacred character, by filling up the lacunæ, expanding obscure passages, removing ungrammatical forms, etc.[130] Fortunately, Prof. Bühler reached Kaśmīr early enough to learn the origin of this 'cooked' text, and to give due warning as to its true character.

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[129] Compare *Report*, p. 40.

The oldest and best MS. of the Nīlamata which I was able to secure and collate, is dated in the Laukika year 81 which, judging from the appearance of the MS., probably corresponds to A. D 1705-6.

The Haracaritacintāmaṇi

28. Among the texts dealing specially with the sacred sites of Kaśmīr the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* can be placed, perhaps, nearest in date to the Nīlamatapurāṇa. It is not like the latter and the Māhātmyas, an anonymous composition, claiming recognition in the wide folds of canonical Purāṇa literature. It owns as its author the poet JAYADRATHA of the

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[130] See *Report* pp. 33, 38.

Kaśmīrian family of the Rājānakas, and a brother of Jayaratha. The pedigree of the family as given in Jayaratha's *Tantrālokaviveka*, a Śaiva treatise, shows that Jayadratha must have lived about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.[131]

His work, written in a simple Kāvya style, relates in thirty-two Cantos as many legends connected with Śiva and his various Avatāras.[132] Eight of these legends are localized at well-known Kaśmīrian Tīrthas, and give the author ample opportunity of mentioning sacred sites of Kaśmīr directly or indirectly connected with the former.[133]

Jayadratha's detailed exposition helps to fix clearly the form which the legends regarding some of the most popular of Kaśmīrian Tīrthas had assumed in the time immediately following Kalhaṇa. The local names as recorded by Jayadratha,[134] agree closely with those of the Rājatarangnī. They prove clearly that the forms employed by Kalhana must have been those generally current in the Sanskrit usage of the period. For the interpretation of the Nīlamata's brief notices the Haracaritacintāmani is of great value. Its plain and authentic narrative of the various local legends enables us often to trace the numerous modifications which the latter as well as the names of localities connected with them have undergone in the extant Māhātmyas. Jayadratha has well earned the honour unwittingly bestowed upon him by those who brought his four teenth Canto which deals with the story of Kayaṭeśvara into general circulation as the authoritative Māhātmya of that Tīrtha at the present day.

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[131] Compare BUHLER, *Report*, pp. 61, 81, cliii.

[132] The *Haracaritacintāmṇai* has recently been printed as No. 61 of the *Kāvyamālā* Series, Bombay (1897), chiefly from the text as contained in my MS. No. 206.

[133] The cantos containing these legends are i., iv., vii., x.-xiv.

The Māhātmyas

29 Reference has already been made above to the numerous texts known as *Māhātmyas* which we possess of all the more important

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[134] An index of the Kaśmīr local names in the Haracaritacintāmani, with explanatory notes, has been prepared under my supervision by P. Govind Kaul, and printed as an Appendix to the Kāvyamālā Edition.

Tīrthas of Kaśmīr. They claim with few exceptions to be extracted from Purāṇas or Purāṇic collections (*Saṁhitās*).[135] Ordinarily they set fourth in detail the legends relating to the particular pilgrimage place, the spiritual and other benefits to be derived from its visit, and the special rites to be gone through by the pilgrims at the various stages of the itinerary. The abstract given in note *B* (i. 37) of the S'āradāmāhātmya may serve to indicate the manner in which these subjects are usually treated in the average texts of this class.

Prof. Būhler was the first to recognize the value of the Māhātmyas for a systematic study of the old topography of Kaśmīr. Among the Sanskrit manuscripts which he acquired during his tour in Kaśmīr, there are sixteen distinct texts of this kind.[136] My own search in this direction, facilitated by successive visits to the various Tīrthas themselves, has enabled me to collect altogether fifty-one separate Māhātmya texts. A list of my collection has been given in a supplementary Note,[137] and may be considered fairly to exhaust the present range of this literature.

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[135] Most of the Kaśmīr Māhātmyas allege to be portions of the *Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā*. Others claim special authority by representing themselves as parts of the Ādi, Brahma Brahmavaivarta, Varāha, and Bhaviṣyat Purāṇas.

[136] See *Report*, pp. iv. sqq.—Nos. 48, 51, 52, 55, 62, 75, 82, 84, 99, 100, there quoted as separate texts are only chapters of the *Amaranāthamāhātmya*.

In extent the Māhātmyas vary greatly. By the side of texts like the Vitastāmātmya with its fifteen hundred Ślokas we have legendaries cf more modest dimensions amounting only to a few dozens of verses Equally marked differences in the matter of age become apparent on closer examination.

Date of Māhātmyas

Unmistakable indications prove that many of the Māhātmyas now in actual use are of late composition or redaction. Among the texts so characterized, the Māhātmyas of some of the most popular pilgrimage places, like the Haramukuṭa lakes, the cave of Amaranātha, Iśeś-vara (Iśᵊbar), are particularly conspicuous. The indications here referred to are furnished chiefly by the local names which in their very form often betray a modern origin. This may conveniently be illustrated by a brief analysis of the most instructive of such names found in the *Vitastāmāhātmya.*

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[137] See Supplementary Note *AA*.

This text claims to furnish an account of all the Tīrthas along the course of the holy river, and is designated as a portion of the *Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā.* Notwithstanding this pretended antiquity we find the famous Nīlanāg introduced to us by the name of *Viranāga* (i. 58 ; ii. 33). This form is wholly unknown to the Nīlamata, Rājataraṅgiṇī, or any old text. It is nothing more than a clumsy rendering of the modern name of the village *Vērnāg*, near which this fine spring is situated.[138] The ancient site of Jayavana, mentioned by Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa, the present Zevan, is metamorphosed into *Yavanī* (vi 4).[139] The village of Pāndreṭhan which derives its name from Puraṇādhiṣṭhāna,[140] 'the old capital. and bears the latter designation even in Śrīvara's Chronicle, figures as *Pādadṛṣṭika* (!), xii. 24. That

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[138] The name *Vernāg* is probably derived from the name of Pargaṇa *Ver.* mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl. ii. p. 370.

[139] See below, * 105, also *Śrīv.* iv. 290.

[140] See iii. 99 note and below, * 89.

Mākṣikasvāmin (Māyᵃsum)[141] and the Mahāsarit (Mār)[142] appear as *Māyāsīma* and *Mārī*, can after this specimen of fancy nomenclature scarcely surprise us.

But we may all the same feel somewhat startled to find that a text which claims to be revealed by Śiva, refers repeatedly to the modern village of Shādⁱpūrat at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, by the name of *Śāradāpura*. *Shāḍⁱpūr*, an abbreviation for *Shahābuddīnpura*, was, as Jonarāja's Chronicle shows, founded only in the fourteenth century by Sultān Shahābu-d-dīn.[143] Quite on a level with the knowledge of old topography here displayed are many other references to localities, e.g. the mention of the modern garden of Shālimār, a creation of the Mughals (*Śālamāra*, xxi. 39), of the ancient Huṣkapura as *Uṣahkaraṇa*[144] (for Uṣkür !), xxix. 103, etc.

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[141] See iv. 88 note and below, * 99.

[142] Compare note iii. 339-349.

[143] See *Jonar.* 409.

A popular etymology accepted in good faith by more than one European writer sees in Shād'ipur the 'village of the marriage,' scil. between the Vitastā and Sind Rivers.

[144] Compare note i. 168 and below, * 124.

In several cases these fancy renderings of modern local names are explained by whimsical etymologies which again in due turn give rise to new-fangled legends quite in the style of the old *nidānakathās*.

Similar proofs of modern origin can be traced in several other popular Māhātmyas though, perhaps, not with equal frequency. Thus we find in the *Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya* the name of the sacred mountain itself transformed from Haramukuṭa into *Haramukha*[145] (the present Haramukh); the ancient site of Bhūteśvara (Buthⁱ*śēr*) so well known to the Rājataraṅginī and all old texts, turned into *Bodhesvara*, etc. In the *Amaranāthamāhātmya* of which there is a comparatively old copy in the Poona collection, we are also treated to *Padṛṣṭi* as the Sanskrit name of Pāndreṭhan; to *Suśramanāga* (?or Kś. Suśramnāg) as the name of the lake where the Nāga Suśravas of the old legend took up his abode,[146] and the like.

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[145] See below, * 57.

The kh at the end of the modern name is due to a phonetic law of Kaśmīr which requires the aspiration of every final tenuis; see *J A.S B.*, 1897, p. 183.

[146] Compare note i. 267.

The modern Kś. form *Suśramnāg* is the regular phonetic derivative of *Suśravanāga* by which name the

It is important to note that by the side of texts like those just mentioned, there are others which on the whole show close conformity with our genuine old sources, both in matter of legend and local names.[147] And even in the Māhātmyas which in their present form we have every reason to consider as recent compositions, there is often abundant evidence of the use of earlier materials and traditions. It will be easier to understand the singular discrepancies in the value and character of these texts if we take into account the peculiar conditions under which the latter have originated.

Origin of Māhātmyas:

30. The Māhātmyas are in the first place handbooks for the Purohitas of the particular Tīrthas, who have the privilege of taking

lake is designated in the Nīlamata, Haracaritacintāmaṅi, etc.

[47] Among such the Māhātmya collection known as the *Śarvāvatāra* (No 213), the *Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya* (No. 219), the *Vijayeśvaramāhātmya* (No. 220) may be parricularly mentioned. None of these, however, are now known to the local Purohitas, more recent and inferior texts having taken their place.

charge of the pilgrims. They are intended to support the claims put forth on behalf of the holiness of the Tīrtha, and the spiritual rewards promised for its visit. The Māhātmyas prescribe the rites to be observed by the pilgrim, and the route to be taken by him on the journey. It is usual for the Prohitas to recite the Māhātmya for the benefit of their clients in the course of the pilgrimage tour. At the same time its contents are expounded to them by a free verbal rendering in Kaśmīrī. As but very few of the priests have enough knowledge of Sanskrit to follow the text intelligently these translations are more or less learned by heart. Often, as my manuscripts show, interlinear Kaśmīrī glosses are resorted to in order to assist the reader's memory.

The local Purohitas

These local priests known now in Kaśmīr as *thān^{a}pat^i* (Skr. *sthānapati*), are as a rule quite as ignorant and grasping as their conféres, the Pujārīs, Bhojkīs, etc., of India proper. They are held deservedly in very low estimation by the rest of the Brahman community. That their condition was more or less the same in earlier times too, though their influence and numbers were probably greater, can be safely concluded from more than one ironical allusion of Kalhaṇa.[148] These are the people to whose keeping the Māhātmaya texts have always been entrusted. Their peculiar position and calling explain, I think, most of the curious changes which the latter have undergone.

Changes of *Tīrthas*:

Tenacious as local worship is, there is yet the evidence of concrete cases to show that not only the route of pilgrimage, but the very site of a Tīrtha has sometimes been changed in comparatively recent times. In proof of this it will suffice to refer to the detailed account I have given of the trasfers that have taken place in the case of the ancient Tīrthas of *Bheḍā* and *Śāradā.*[149] Minor modifications must naturally have been yet far more frequent. The visit of a principal Tīrthas is regularly coupled with bathings, Śrādhas and other sacrificial functions at a series of other sacred spots. The choice of these subsidiary places of worship must from the very beginning have depended on local considerations. As these changed in the course of time, variations in the pilgrimage route must have unavoidably followed.

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[148] Compare note ii. 132 and v. 465 sqq. ; vii. 13 sqq. ; 1082 sqq. ; viii. 709, 900 sqq., 939.

[149] Compare Notes *A* (i. 35) and *B* (i. 37).

To bring the text of the Māhātmya into accord with these successive changes was a task which devolved upon the local Purohitas, and the texts we have discussed above bear only too manifestly the traces of their handiwork. Sound knowledge of Sanskrit and literay culture are likely to have been always as foreign to this class of men as they are at present. When it became necessary for them to introduce the names of new localities into the text of the Māhātmya, there was every risk of these names being shown, not in their genuine old form, but in hybrid adaptations of modern Kaśmīri equivalents. This risk naturally increased when Sanskrit ceased to be the official language of Kaśmīr, and the knowledge of the old local names became gradually lost even to those maintaining scholarly tradition in the country.

Local ames of Māhātmyas and 'popular etymology':

31. Another potent cause seems to have co-operated in this vitiation of the Māhātmyas'

local nomenclature. I mean 'popular etymology'. We have already referred to the tendency displayed throughout these tracts of making the names of localities, rivers, springs, etc., the starting point for legendary anecdotes. For men of such very scant knowledge of Sanskrit as the Thānᵃpat's invariably are it was naturally far easier to explain such etymological stories when they were based on the modern local names.

It is undoubtedly this reason which has led the author of the present Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya to substitute the name *Karaṅkanadī* for the old Kanakavāhinī. By the latter name the stream coming from the Haramukuṭa lakes is designated in all our old texts, as explained in my note on Rājaṭ. i **149**, 150. By turning *Kānkᵃnai*, the modern derivative of this old name, into *Karaṅkanadī*, the skeleton-stream, the compiler of the Māhātmya got an occassion to treat his readers to a legend likely to appeal to their imagination. The river is supposed to have received this appellation because Garuḍa had dropped at its Saṁgama with the Sindhu the skeleton (*karaṅka*) of the Ṛṣi Dadhīci which Indra before had used as his weapon, etc.[150]

This story, it is true, is wholly unknown to the Nīlamata or any other old text. But, on the other hand, it has the great merit of being easily explained and proved to any Kaśmīrī pilgrim. The latter cannot fail to realize the manifest connection between *Karaṅka* and his familiar *kᵃranz*, 'skeleton.' An exactly similar case of popular etymology has been noticed above in the name *Suva ṇārdhāṅgaka* by which the S'āradāmāhātmya renders the village name Sunᵃ-Drang.[151]

It would be easy to multiply examples showing the strange vicissitudes to which old topographical names are exposed at the hands of the local Purohita. But the explanation already given will suffice to prove that the topographical data found in Māhātmyas can only then be used safely when they are critically sifted and supported by our more reliable sources.

A critical examination of these data is, however, much impeded by the difficulty we experience in fixing the exact age of particular Mahātmyas and their component portions[152] Even in the case of apparently old texts modern additions and changes may be suspected while again the most recent concoctions may presetve fragments of genuine tradition.[153] In view of these considerations I have not thought it safe to crowd my maps with hundred of names of petty Tīrthas as found in the Māhātmyas, but have restricted myself to marking only those pilgrimage sites the ancient names of which can be established with certainty.

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[150] The story is spun out at great length in Paṭala iii of the *Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya*, No. 221.

[151] Compare Note *B* (i. 37), § 2.

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[152] The difficulty here indicated is increased by the fact that no really old manuscripts of Māhātmyas seem to be preserved in Kaśmīr. MSS. written on birch-bark, i e. earlier than the seventeenth century, are quite unknown at present. And of the numerous paper MSS. I have examined, none seem to me older than two centuries at the utmost. It is probable that this absence of older copies is due to the rough usage to which the Māhātmyas are exposed when carried about on the pilgrimage tours.

[153] I am glad that chance gave me an opportunity of gaining some personal experience of the manner in which Māhātmyas are occasionally produced. Some ten years ago the Purohitas or Bāchbaṭṭas of the Ganᵃ patyār quarter in S'rīnagar recovered an ancient Liṅga from a mosque and began to erect a small shrine for it near the river Ghāṭ of Malᵃ yār. Guided by a local tradition which, as far as I can judge, may be genuine, they believed this to have been the site of the shrine of Sīva *Vardhamāneśa,* mentioned already in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (see note ii. 123). The Liṅga was re-consecrated accordingly by this name.

In 1891 when examining old sites in this part of the city I also visited the temple of Vardhamāneśa then under construction. The interest I showed in the old Linga and the tradition regarding it, coupled with an appropriate Dakṣiṇā, soon secured me the confidence of the head-Purohita of the little shrine. Paṇḍit T. R., a man more intelligent than the average of his fraternity, was not slow to confess to me that the Māhātmya of the Tīrtha *in spe* was as yet under preparation. Some weeks later, when in camp near S'rīnagar, I received the visit of my Purohita from Vardhamāneśa's shrine, he brought me the draft of the new Māhātmya and asked my assistance in revising it.

I found it consisting chiefly of extracts from the Vitastāmāhātmya. The passages dealing with Vardhamāneśa and the neighbouring Tīrthas within the city had been suitably interlarded with laudatory verses in the usual Māhātmya style culled from other texts. The vested interests of other local shrines had received due recognition by being included in the *Yātrā* of Vardhamāneśa. I did what I could to indicate the genuine old names of these localities.

ABŪ-L-FAZL

32. It is a curious fact that among our authorities for the Topographia sacra of Kaśmīr we must allow a conspicuous place to a Muhammadan writer. It is ABU-L-FAZL, the minister of Akbar, who in the chapter of his Aīn-i Akbarī dealing with the 'Sarkār of Kashmīr' has left us a very accurate account of many of the holy places in the Valley.[154] Abū-l-Fazl's detailed description of Kaśmīr is in many respects valuable to the historical student. But it is particularly in connection with our topographical search that we must feel grateful to the author for having like his great master "caught some of the enthusiasm of the Valley" (Rennell).

This quasi-antiquarian co-operation does not seem to have detracted from the popularity of the new Māhātmya among the Bāchbattṭas of Gan^{a}patyār.

[154] Vol. i. pp 564-570 in Prof. Blochmann's edition of the *Ain-i-Akbarī*; vol. ii. pp. 354-366 in Col. H.S. Jarrett's translation (Bibliotheca Indica). Abū-l-Fazl's account of Kas′mīr would well deserve a fuller and more exact commentary than the one which the translator, in the absence of special local studies, was able to give. The account of Mirzā Ḥaīdar (in the Tārī^{hk}-i Rā^{sh}idī) and Bernier's notes could be conveniently discussed on the same occasion.

Abū-l Fazl tells us that "the whole country is regarded as holy ground by the Hindū sages" He also refers in general terms to the numerous shrines dedicated to the various deïties, and to the popular worship of snakes i. e. the Nāgas "of whom wonderful stories are told." He then proceeds to describe in detail the most notable sites giving among these particular prominence to what Dr. Bernier aptly called 'less merveilles' of the country.

This account of Abū-l-Fazl represents for us an authentic survey of all the Kaśmīrian Tīrthas that were well-known and popular at the end of the sixteenth century. It serves as a most useful link between our older texts regarding our these pilgrimage places and the modern tradition. It helps us to check the data of the Māhātmyas in many particulars of topographical interest. Abū-l-Fazl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient Tīrthas of of particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotten.[155] It cannot be doubted that Abū-l Fazl's list of sacred sites was supplied by competent Brahman informants just as his abstract of the Sanskrit Chronicles.

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[155] Compare Notes *A* (i. 35), *B* (i. 37) ; i. 220 ; also supplementary note to i. 107.

SECTION VII—LOCAL TRADITION

Tradition of the learned :

33. It remains only to indicate briefly what help surviving traditions offers for the study of the ancient topography of Kaśmīr. The tradition with which we are here concerned, present itself in two forms. One is the tradition of the 'learned' regarding the ancient sites of the country in general, kept up more or less in connection with written records. The other is that genuine local tradition which is strictly confined in its limits, but can be traced equally among literate and illitrate of particular places.

Among those who represent in Kaśmīr learned tradition of the above type, there must again be distinguished the few Paṇḍit families of Śrīnagar in which the serious study of Sanskrit Śāstras has been maintained, and the great host of Bāchbaṭṭas. With the latter class we have already become partially acquainted. We have had occasion to note the conspicuous absence of genuine knowledge as regards the ancient topography of the country in those texts which form the characteristic products of this class's literary activity in recent times.

The Purohitas' knowledge of Sanskrit is oridinarily of the scantiest kind, and their 'reading' confined to Māhātmyas and devotional texts learned by heart without proper comprehension. We can hence scarcely expect them to have preserved genuine traditions regarding those historically interesting localities which are mentioned only in the Chronicles. It is only in the matter of those sacred sites pilgrimage routes and the like which form, as it were, their own particular professional domains, that their testimony can claim special attention. Yet even in this limited field the purohitas' traditions are, as we have seen, often of a very modern growth. Their statements, therefore, require under all circumstances to be tested with critical caution.

The Tīrthasamgraha :

34. 'Learned' tradition as represented by the Śrīnagar Paṇḍits of modern times, is best guaged by an examination of what the late

Paṇḍit SAHIBRAM (†1872) has specially recorded on the subject of ancient sites. P. Sāhibrām, who was undoubtedly the foremost among Kaśmīrian Sanskrit scholars of the last few generations, had been commissioned by Mahārāja Ranbīr Singh to prepare a descriptive survey of all ancient Tirthas of Kaśmīr. For this purpose a staff of Paṇḍits was placed at his disposal, whose business it was to collect the necessary materials in the various parts of the country. The large work which was to be prepared on the basis of these materials, was never completed, and of the latter I was able to recover only small portions.[156] But some time before his death Pandit Sāhibrām had drawn up abstracts of the information he had collected, under the title of *Kāśmīratīrthasaṁgraha*, and of these I have been able to obtain copies. The most detailed and apparently latest recension of this Tīrthasaṁgraha is that contained in No. 61 of Prof. Bühler's collection of manuscripts.

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[156] The portions acquired by me refer to some of the north-eastern Parganas and contain descriptions (in Sanskrit) of the various Nāgas, Liṅgas, etc., the miraculous stories relating to them, together with the devotional texts which are supposed to be used at their worship. Quaint illustrations and maps accompany the text. The whole forms a large-sized folio. The critical value of these records is very slight.

This little work gives a list of numerous Tīrthas with brief indications of their special features and position, arranged in the topographical order of Parganas. It is useful enough as a comprehensive synopsis of such sacred sites as were known at the time to local worship. But it proves at the same time how little help traditional learning in Kaśmīr can offer in our days for the serious study of the old topography of the Valley.

P. SĀHIBRĀM'S local names:

Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's plan is to indicate each Tīrtha's position by mentioning the territorial division in which it is situated, and the nearest village or other well-known locality. It was, undoubtedly, the learned author's desire to give all local names in their old Sanskrit forms as far as they were known to him, and accordingly we find a number of localities correctly mentioned by their genuine old designations. But, unfortunately, the number of the latter is trully insignificant when compared with those local names which are plainly recognizable as new fabrications, as worthless as those already mentioned in connection with the topography of modern Māhātmyas.

In consideration of the fact that P. Sāhibrām deserves to be looked upon as the best representative of modern Kaśmīrian scholarship,[157] it is only just to illustrate the above remarks by a few examples. I take them from among those local names, the genuine forms of which can be easily ascertained from the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The lake of the Nāga Suśravas,[158] the present Suśram Nāg, is named *Suśramanāga* in one recension, and *Suṣumṇanāga* (!) in the other. The old Parganas of Holaḍā, Laulāha, Khūyāśrama are turned on account of their modern names Vular, Lolau, Khuyᵃhom, into the 'Rāṣṭras' of *Volara, Lalava, Khoyahāma.* Bānᵃhāl, the old Bāṇaśālā,[159] figures as *Bhānuśālā* ; Khruv, the ancient Khaḍūvī,[160] known correctly even to so late a text as the Lokaprakāśa, as *Khrāva.* The name of the ancient village Jayavana,[161] which fares badly too, as we have seen, in the Māhātmyas, is metamorphosed into *Jīvana* ; Rayṇil, the old *Hiraṇyapura*,[162] is with a flight of historical fancy turned into a foundation of King Raṇāditya.

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[157] See *Reort,* pp. 4, 38.

[158] See note i. 267.

[159] See note viii. 1665 and below, § 41.

[160] See below, § 105.

[161] Compare note vii. 607

After this, village names like Uṣkara, Rāmāśrama, Kīcakāśrama, as designations of the old Huṣkāpara, Rāmuṣa, Kṛtyāśrama[163] can scarcely surprise us. The number of districts, towns, villages, streams, lakes and other topographical features (exclusive of Tīrthas) mentioned by Paṇḍit Sāhibrām amounts to nearly three hundred. But scarcely two dozen of the names given for them are in accord with our old authorities.

P. Sāhibrām was one of the few modern Kaśmīrian scholars who have seriously occupied themselves with the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles.[164] Hence the indifferent knowledge of ancient topography as displayed in his Tīrthasaṁgraha, must appear all the more striking. Yet in reality it is easily enough accounted for.

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[162] See note i. 287.

[163] See notes ii. 168 ; ii. 55 ; i. 147.

[164] See his abstracts of the Chronicles in the *Rājataraṅgiṇīsaṃgrahas* acquired by Prof. Buhler (Nos. 176-8 of the Poona collection). It deserves to be noted that in them no attempt whatever is made to explain points of topographical interest.

What knowledge learned tradition in Kaśmīr has retained of ancient sites as distinct from Tīrthas and the like, is confined to a few prominent localities which for one reason or the other were of special interest for the Paṇḍits. Thus the capital, Pravarapura-Śrīnagara, with several of its quarters, the towns of Vijayeśvara, Suyyapura, Varāhamūla and some other places of importance in the Valley, have continued to be known by their ancient names. These names probably never ceased to be employed in colophons of Sanskrit manuscripts, in horoscopes and similar records. In the case of a few other localities again like Jayapura, Dāmodara's Uḍar, Cakradhara, there were well-known popular legends which plainly indicated their identity with sites mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. But for the great mass of ancient places there were no special reasons of this kind to assure a recollection of their old names. It is hence only natural that all genuine knowledge of their identity and earlier history has gradually disappeared from the Paṇḍits' tradition.

Nothing but systematic inquiry on the lines of modern historical research could help towards a recovery of the knowledge thus lost.

Popular local tradition:

35. Popular local tradition has fortunately in Kaśmīr proved far more tenacious than the tradition of the learned. I have often derived from it very valuable aid in my local search for particular sites. The experience gained on my antiquarian tours has convinced me that when collected with caution and critically sifted, such local traditions can safely be accepted as supplements to the topographical information of our written records. In illustration of this statement, I may refer to the evidence gathered from local tradition in reference to the sites of Lohara, Hastivañja Kramavarta, Jayapura, Skandabhavana, etc.[165]

In more than one instance it can be shown that local legends which Kalhaṇa heard, still cling unchanged to the same sites. As striking example may be mentioned here, the legends concerning Dāmodra's Uḍar, the burned city of King Nara, the temple of Pravareśa.[166]

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[165] Compare Note *E* (iv. 177) ; i. 302 ; iii. 227 (*D*) ; iv. 506 sqq. ; vi. 137 (*K*).

It cannot be doubted that this tenacity of local tradition in Kaśmīr is due largely to the country's seclusion. Mountain barriers and consequent isolation tend everywhere in alpine countries to develop and foster conservative habits of life and thought We find these habits most strongly marked in the population of the Valley, and can safely ascribe to them a great share in the preservation of local traditions.

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[166] See notes i. 156, 202 ; iii. 350.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

SECTION I. POSITION AND CONFIGURATION OF KAS'MIR VALLEY

36. Nature itself when creating the great valley of Kaśmīr and its enclosing wall of mountains, seems to have assured to this territory not only a distinct geographical character, but also a historical existence of marked individuality. We see both these facts illustrated by the clearly defined and constant use of the name which the territory has borne from the earliest accessible period.

Name KAŚMĪRA:

This name, *Kaśmīra* in its original Sanskrit form has been used as the sole designation of the country througout its known history. It has been uniformly applied both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. We can trace back its continued use through an unbroken chain of documents for more than twenty-three centuries. The name itself undoubtedly is far more ancient. Yet notwithstanding this long history the current form of the name down to the present day has changed but slightly in the country itself and scarcely at all outside it.

The sanskrit *Kaśmīra* still lives as *Kośmīr* (in persian spelling *Kas͟hmīr*) all through India and wherever to the west the fame of the Valley has spread. In the language of the inhabitants themselves the name is now pronounced as *Kaśīr.*[1] This form is the direct phonetic derivative of *Kaśmīra*, with the regular loss of the final vowel and assimilation of *m* to the preceding sibilant. A phonetic rule prevalent through all indo-Aryan Vernaculars which favours the change of medial Skr. *m* into *v*[2] leads us to assume an intermediate Prakrit form **Kaśvīr* [*a*]. In support of this we may point to the striking analogy of the Kaśmīr local name *Śāngas* which (as shown in note i. 100) goes back through an older recorded form *Śvargas* to **Śmāṅgāsā*, the *Śamāṅgāsā* of the Chronicle. It has been already shown above that we have to recognise in this *Kaśvīra* the original Prakrit form which Ptolemy's (Pronounced Kaspīra, Kaspīria) are intended to transcribe.[3]

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[1] The adjective *Kās'ur* 'Kas'mīrian' corresponds to Skr. *Kās'mīra.* The *u* of the last syllable is probably due to the *v* of an intermediate form Kās'vira; see below.

[2] Compare Dr. GRIERSON'S remarks, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. p. 16.

Etymologies of name :

Linguistic science can furnish no clue to the origin of the name nor even analyze its formation.[4] This fact, however, has not saved the name from being subjected to various etymological guesses which for curiosity's sake may receive here a passing notice. It must be held to the credit of Kaśmīrian Sanskrit authors that their extant writings are wholly innocent of this display of etymological fancy.

No less illustrious a person than the emperor Bābar opens the list. His suggestion was that the name may be derived from the hill-tribe '*Kās*' living in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīr.[5] We easily recognize here the reference to the *Khaśas* of the lower hills. Their name, however, in its true form has, of course, no connection with Kaśmīr.

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[3] Compare * 5 above.

[4] If the Uṇādisūtra, 472, *Kaśer muṭ ca*, is to be applied to the word *Kaśmīra*, the latter would have to be dissolved into *Kas'*-m-*īra* according to the traditional grammatical system.

[5] See *Baber's Memoirs, transl. by Leyden and Erskine*, p. 313. A Persian MS. of the text adds that *mīr* signifies 'mountain.' ERSKINE, *Introduction*, p. xxvii., improves upon this etymology by extending it to Kashgar, the Casia regio and Casii Montes of Ptolemy. RITTER, *Asien*, ii. p. 1127, from whom I take this reference, not unjustly queries why the learned editor should have stopped short of the *Caspium mare* and other equally manifest affinities !

Another etymology, first traceable in *Ḥ*aidar Malik's Chronicle and hence reproduced by other Muhammadan writers,[6] derives the first part of the name from '*Kas̱hap*,' i.e, Kaśyapa, and the second either from Kś. *mar*, i.e. *maṭha*, 'habitation,' or a word *mīr*, supposed to mean 'mountain.'[7] It was, perhaps, a belief

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Bābar's conjecture figures still seriously in a note of the latest translation of the Aīn-i Akbarī, ii. p. 381.

Regarding the name and habitation of the *Khas'as*, compare note i. 317.

[6] It was first introduced to the European reader by TIEFFENTHALER'S extract from Haidar Malik's Chronicle ; compare *Description historique et geographyique de l' Inde*, ed. Bernouilli, 1786, i. p. 79 (also p. 89 as to source).

Compare WILSON, *Essay*, p. 94, for a similar note from the *Waqiāt-i Kashmīr* of Muḥammad 'Azīm here کشف سر is a clerical error for کشف میر

[7] The Ks'. word *mar* <Skr. *maṭha* is in common use in the country as the designation of Sarais, shelter-huts on passes etc. ; *mīr* might have been connected by Ḥaidar Malik's Paṇḍit informants with the name of Mount *Meru* or with *mīra*, meaning according to a Kos'a *parvataikades'a* ; see *P.W.*, s.v.

that this whimsical etymology represented some local tradition, which induced even so great a scholar as Burnous to risk the conjectural explanation of Kaśmīra as *Kaśyapamīra*, i.e. 'the sea of Kaśyapa.'[8] There is neither linguistic nor any other evidence to support this conjecture. It would hence scarcely have been necessary to refer to it had it not, on the authority of a great name, found its way also into numerous works of a more general character.[9]

Extent of Kaśmīr :

37. Just as the name Kaśmīr has practically remained unchanged through the course of so many centuries, so also has the territorial extent of the country which it designated. This has always been confined to the great valley drained by the headwaters of the Vitastā, and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it. The natural limits of the territory here indicated are so sharply marked that we have no difficulty in tracing them through all our historical records, whether indigenous or foreign. Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-k'ong and Alberūnī's accounts, as we have seen, show them clearly enough. Kalhaṇa's and his successors' Chronicles prove still more in detail that the Kas'mīr of Kaśmīrian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the valley.

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[8] Compare his note in HUMBOLDT, *L' Āsie centrale*, i. p. 92.

[9] See e g. LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 54 note ; MC CRINDLE, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 108 ; V. DE ST.-MARTIN, *Mem. de l' Acad. des Inscript., Sav. Etrang.*, v, ii. p. 83 ; KIEPERT *Alte Geographie*, 1878, p. 36.

A detailed description of the geographical position of Kas'mīr is not needed here, as there is an abundant modern literature dealing with the various aspects of the geography of the country. For an accurate and comprehensive account I may refer to the corresponding portion of Mr. DREW'S work and to the graphic chapter which Mr. LAWRENCE devotes to the description of the Valley.[10] It will, however, be useful to allude here briefly to some of the characteristic features in the configuration of the country which have an important bearing on its ancient topography.

Geographical position of Kaśmīr:

Kas'mīr owes its historical unity and isolation to the same facts which give to its geographical position a distinct, and in some respects almost unique character. We find here a fertile plain embedded among high mountain ranges, a velley large enough to form a kingdom for itself and capable of supporting a highly-developed civilization. Its height above the sea, nowhere less than 5000 feets, and its peculiar position assure to it a climate equally free from the heat of India and the rigours of cold peculiar to the higher mountain regions in the north and east.

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[10] See DREW, *Jummoo*, Chapters viii.-x. ; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 12-39.

The form of the country has been justly likened to a great irregular oval consisting of a similarly shaped level vale in the centre and a ring of mountains around it The low and more or less flat part of the country measures about eighty-four miles in length, from south-east to north-west, while its width varies from twenty to twenty-five miles. The area comprised in this part has been estimated at 1800 or 1900 square miles.[11] Around this great plain rise mountain-ranges which enclose it in an almost unbroken ring. Their summit-lines are everywhere but for a short distance at the southernmost point of the oval, more than 10,000 feet above the sea. For the greatest part they rise to about 13,000 feet, while the peaks crowning them tower up to altitudes close on 18,000 feet. Reckoned from the summit-lines of these ranges the length of the irregular oval enclosed by them is about 116 miles, with a varying width from forty to seventy-five miles. The whole area within these mountain-boundaries may be estimated at about 3900 square miles.

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[11] Compare DREW, *Jummoo,* p. 162, for this and subsequent statements.

The slopes of the mountains descending towards the central plain are drained by numerous rivers and streams, all of which join the Vitastā within the Kaśmīr plain. The side-valleys in which these tributaries flow add much ground to the cultivated area of the country, several of them being of considerable length and width. But even the higher zones of the mountain-slopes where cultivation ceases add their share to the economical wealth of the country. They are clothed with a belt of magnificent forests, and above this extend rich alpine pastures close up to the line of perpetual snow.

In the great mountain-chain which

encircles the country, there is but one narrow gap left, near the north-west end of the Valley. There the Vitastā after uniting the whole drainage of Kaśmīr, flows out by the gorge of Bārāmūla (Varāhamūla) on its course towards the sea. For a distance of nearly 200 miles further this course lies through a very contracted valley which forms a sort of natural gate to Kaśmīr. It is here that we find the old political frontier of Kaśmīr extending beyond the mountain-barriers already described. For about fifty miles below the Varāhamūla gorge the narrow valley of the Vitastā was held in Hindu times as an outlying frontier tract of Kaśmīr.[12]

Legend of *Satīsaras*:

38. The general configuration of the country here sketched in its broadest outlines may be held to account for the ancient legend which represents Kaśmīr to have been originally a lake. This legend is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the Introduction of his Chronicle and is related at great length in the Nīlamata.[13]

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[12] See below, * 53.

[13] See *Rājat*-i. 25-27 ; *Nīlamata*, vv. 26-237.
A detailed extract of the Nīlamata's story has been given by Prof. BUHLER, *Report*, p. 39.

According to this earliest traditional account the lake called *Satīsaras*, 'the lake of Satī (Durgā),' occupied the place of Kaśmīr from the beginning of the Kalpa. In the period of the seventh Manu the demon Jalodbhava (water-born′) who resided in this lake, caused great distress to all neighbouring countries by his devastations. The Muni Kaśyapa, the father of all Nāgas, while engaged in a pilgrimage to the Tīrthas in the north of India, heard of the cause of this distress from his son Nīla, the king of the Kaśmīr Nāgas. The sage thereupon promised to punish the evil-doer, and proceeded to the seat of Brahman to implore his and the other gods' help for the purpose. His prayer was granted. The whole host of gods by Brahman's command started for ahe Satīsaras and took up their position on the lofty peaks of the *Naubandhana Tīrtha*, above the lake Kramasaras (Kons^{a} rnāg). The demon who was invincible in his own element, refused to come forth from the lake. Viṣṇu thereupon called upon his brother Balabhadra to drain the lake. This he effected by piercing the mountains with his weapon the plough-share. When the lake had become dry, Jalodahava was attacked by Viṣṇu, and after a fierce combat slain with the god's war-disc.

Kaśyapa then settled the land of Kaśmīr which had thus been produced. The gods took up their abodes in it as well as the Nāgas, while the various goddesses adorned the land in the shape of rivers. At first men dwelt in it for six months only in the year. This was owing to a curse of Kaśyapa who, angered by the Nāgas, had condemned them to dwell for the other six months together with the Piśācas. Accordingly men left Kaśmīr for the six months of winter and returned annually in Caitra when the Piśācas withdrew. Ultimately after four Yugas had passed, the Brahman Candradeva through the Nīlanāga's favour acquired a number of rites which freed the country from the Piśācas and excessive cold. Henceforth Kaśmīr became inhabitable throughout the year.

The legend of the dessication of the lake is alluded to also by Hiuen Tsiang, though in another, Buddhistic form.[14] Its main features as related in the Nīlamata, live to this day in popular tradition. They are also produced in all Muhammadan abstracts of the Chronicles[15]. From *Ḥ*aidar Malik's Tārīkh, the legend became known to Dr. Bernier who prefaces it with his description of the 'paradis' terrestre des Indes.[16] It has since found its way into almost every European account of Kaśmīr.

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[14] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. p. 149

Lacustrine features of Valley :

It is probable that this legend had much to do with drawing from the first the attention of European travellers to those physical facts which seem to support the belief that Kaśmīr was in comparatively late geological times wholly or in great part occupied by a vast lake. But few seem to have recognized so clearly as the late Mr. DREW the true relation between the legend and the above facts. I cannot put this view which from a critical point of view appears self-evident, more precisely than by quoting his words. "The traditions of the natives – traditions that can be historically traced as having eixsted for ages—tend in the same direction [viz. of the Vale having been occupied by a lake], and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined."[17]

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[15] Compare e.g. *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 380 ; WILSON, *Essay*, p. 93.

[16] See BERNIER, *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 393.

The geological observations upon which modern scientific inquirers like Mr. Drew and Colonel Godwin Austin have based their belief as to the former existence of a great lake, are mainly concerned with the undoubted 'lacustrine deposits' found in the so-called Uḍars or Karēwa plateaus to be noticed below. But it seems to me very doubtful whether we can reasonably credit the early Kaśmīrians with a correct scientific interpretation of such geological records. It appears far more probable that the legend was suggested by an observation of the general form of the Valley, and by a kind of natural inference from the historical changes in the hydrography of the country.

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[17] See *Jummoo*, p. 207.

We shall see below that great drainage operations took place at various periods of Kaśmīr history which extended the cultivable ground and reduced the area covered by lakes and marshes. To any one, however ignorant of geology, but acquainted with the latter fact, the picture of a vast lake originally covering the whole Valley might naturally suggest itself. It would be enough for him to stand on a hillside somewhere near the Volur, to look down on the great lake and the adjoining marshes, and to glance then beyond towards that narrow gorge of Bārāmūla where the mountains scarcely seem to leave an opening. It is necessary to bear in mind here the singular flights of Hindu imagination as displayed in the Purāṇas, Māhātmyas and similar texts. Those acquainted with them will, I think, be teady to allow that the fact of that remarkable gorge being the single exit for the drainage of the country might alone even have sufficed as a starting-point for the legend.

In respect of the geological theory above refered to, it may yet be mentioned that in the opinion of a recent authority, "even the presence of true lacustrine deposits does not prove that the whole of the Kaśmīr lake basin was ever occupied by a lake." [18] At the present day true lacustrine deposits are still being formed in the hollows of the rock basin, represented by the lakes of the north-west portion of the Valley. It is held probable "that the conditions have been much the same as at present, throughout the geological history of the Kaśmīr Valley," only a minor area of the latter having at various periods been occupied by lakes.

Whatever view may ultimately recommend itself to geologists, it is certain that the lacustrine deposits of Kaśmīr, though of no remote date, speaking by a geological standard, are far older than any monuments of man that have yet been discovered.[19]

Kaśmīr defended by mountains:

39. None of the natural features of Kaśmīr geography have had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain-barriers that surround it.

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[18] See Mr. R. D OLDHAM'S *Manual of Indian Geology,* (1893', quoted by Mr. Lawrence, *Valley,* p. 50

[19] See DREW, *Jummoo,* pp. 207 sq.

They may hence rightly claim our first consideration.

The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has at all times been duly recognized both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Since an early period Kaśmīrians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified only by the strength of these natural defences. We find it alluded to by Kalhaṇa, who speaks of Kaśmīr as unconquerable by the force of soldiers, and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls.[20] The feeling is very clearly reflected in all foreign records of the country. We have already seen what special notice is taken by Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong of the mountains enclosing the kingdom, and the difficulty of the passes leading through them.[21] The statements of the early Arab geographers, brief as they are, lay due stress on the inaccessible character of the mountains. Alberūnī does the same, and shows us besides the anxious care taken in old days to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes.[22]

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[20] See i 31, 39.

[21] Compare above, ** 9, 11.

Even when Kaśmīr had suffered a partial conquest from the north and had become Muhammadanized, the belief in the invincibility of its bulwarks continued as strong as before. Thus Sharāfu-d-dīn, the historian of Tīmūr, writing apparently from materials collected during the great conqueror's passage through the Punjāb Kohistān (circ. A.D. 1397), says of Kaśmīr: "This country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies." The subsequent account of the routes into Kaśmīr and other exact details, suggest that the author of the *Zafarnāma* had access to genuine Kaśmīrian information.[23]

Watch-stations on mountain passes:

40. It is this defensive character of the mountain-ranges to which we owe most of our detailed information regarding their ancient topography. We have already in connection with the accounts of Albērūnī and the Chinese pilgrims, had occasion to note the system of frontier watch-stations by which a careful guard was kept over the passes leading through the mountains. These fortified posts and the passes they guarded play an important part in the narrative of Kalhaṇa and his successors. As most of the Chronicles' references of Kaśmīr orography are directly connected with these watch-stations, it will be useful to premise here a few general remarks regarding their character and purpose.[24]

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[22] See above, ** 12, 14.

[23] See the extract from Sharāfu-dīn's Zafarnāma in *Tārīkh-i Rāshidī*, transl. by Messrs. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 432 ; compare also RITTER, *Asien*, ii. pp. 1122 sq.

The small forts which since ancient times closed all regularly used passes leading into the Valley, are designated in the Chronicles by the word DVARA, 'gate', or by the more specific terms *draṅga* or *ḍhakka*. Numerous passages show that they served at the same time the purposes of defence, customs and police administration. They were garrisoned by troops under special commanders, designated as *draṅgeśa* or *draṅgādhipa*. The control over all these frontier-stations and the command of the 'Marches' generally, was vested in Hindu times in one high state officer, known by the title of *Dvārapati*, 'lord of the Gate,' or equivalent terms.[25]

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[24] For detailed references regarding these stations see my notes, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sqq.; *Rājat*. i. 122 ; iii, 227 (*D*).

Guarding of 'Gates':

The organization of the system was somewhat changed in Muhammadan times, when the guarding of the several routes through the mountains was entrusted to feudal chiefs known as Maliks (Skr. *mārgeśa*). These held hereditary charge of specific passes, and enjoyed certain privileges in return of this duty. In other respects the system underwent scarcely any change. The fortified posts with their small garrisons survived on all important routes almost to our own days, and were known as *rāhdārī* in the official Persian.[26] It may be noted that apart from their character as military defences against inroads from foreign territories the Draṅgas were also in another respect true 'gates' to the country. Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the Valley without a special permit or pass.

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[25] Compare note v. 214.

[26] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 385 ; also below, ** 49,52.

The system thus served as an important check on unauthorized emigration, and was withdrawn only after the last Kaśmīr famine (1878).[27]

In order to appreciate fully the importance of these frontier watch-stations, it should be remembered that the mountain regions immediately outside Kaśmīr were almost in every direction held by turbulent hill-tribes. To the hardy Dards (*Darad*) in the north, and the restless Khakhas (*Khaśa*) in the south and west the rich Kaśmīr with its weak population, has always appeared as a tempting prey. The last inroad of the plundering Khakhas occurred not more than half century ago, and will not be soon forgotten.[28] At the same time it is certain that the valour of these hardy mountain-clans on the confines of Kaśmīr has at all times contributed greatly to the natural strength of the mountain defences. Without this protective belt the latter themselves would scarcely have remained so long proof against foreign invasion.

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[27] For on early reference to this system of passports at the Dvāras, see *Jonar* 654. For a description of the cruel exactions often connected with *rāhdāri*, compare LAWRENCE, *Valley*. p. 215.

I have never been able to visit the sites of the old watch-stations at the several passes without thinking of the scenes of human suffering they must have witnessed for centuries.

[28] Compare for the Khakhas, note i. 317.

SECTION II.—THE PIR PANTSAL RANGE

Kaśmīr orography :

41. In order to understand correctly the data relating to the ancient topography of the mountains around Kaśmīr it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with their actual configuration and character. In the following account it will be possible only to indicate the most prominent features of this mountain-system, and those directly connected with the historical data under discussion. For detailed information on Kaśmīr orography a reference to the lucid and instructive account in Mr. DREW'S work may be specially recommended.[29]

The mountain-ring enclosing Kaśmīr is divided into three main ranges. One of these, usually designated as the *Pīr Pantsāl* Range, forms the boundary of the Kaśmīr Valley to the south and south-west. It may be considered to begin from the southernmost part of the Valley where the Bāṇᵃhāl Pass, 9200 feet above the sea, marks the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After running for about thirty-five miles from east to west, the range turns to the north-northwest. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more, and after attaining its greatest elevation in the Taṭakūṭī Peak (15,524 feet above the sea), gradually descends towards the valley of the Vitastā. All important old routes towards the Panjāb cross this great mountain-barrier, and this circumstance enables us to trace some interesting information regarding its ancient topography.

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[29] See *Jummoo*, pp. 192-206.

Pass of BĀṆAŚĀLĀ:

The Bāṇᵃhāl Pass at the eastern extremity of the range must, owing to its small elevation, have always been a convenient route of communication towards the Upper Cināb Valley and the eastern of the Panjāb hill states. It takes its modern name from a village at the south foot of the pass which itself is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle by the name of

BANASALA.[30] The castle of Bāṇaśālā was in Kalhaṇa's own time the scene of a memorable siege (A. D. 1130) in which the pretender Bhikṣācara was captured and killed. Coming from the Cināb Valley he had entered *Viṣalāṭā*,[31] the hill-district immediately south of the Bānᵃhāl Pass, with a view to an invasion of Kaśmīr. As his movement fell in the commencement of the winter, he could not have selected a more convenient route. The Bānᵃhāl Pass is the only route across the Pīr Pantsāl Range on which communication is never entirely stopped by snow-fall. Kalhaṇa's narrative shows that the political and ethnographic frontier ran here as elsewhere on the watershed of the range. For, the castle of Bāṇaśālā, though so near as to be visible from the top of the pass (*saṁkaṭa*), was already held by a Khaśa chief.[32]

Naubandhana Tīrtha:

Proceeding westwards from Bānᵃhāl we come to a group of three snowy peaks reaching above 15,000 feet. With their bold pyramidal summits they form conspicuous objects in the panorama of the range as seen from the Valley.[33] Kaśmīr tradition locates on them the seats from which Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahman according to the legend already related, fought Jalodbhava and desiccated the Satīsaras. The westernmost and highest of these peaks (15,523 feet) forms the famous NAUBANDHANA Tīrtha. According to the legend related in the Nīlamata and other texts and connected with the Indian deluge story, Viṣṇu in his fish Avatāra had bound to this peak the ship (*nau*) into which Durgā had converted herself to save the seeds of the beings from destruction.[34] At the foot of this peak and to the north-west of it, lies a mountain lake over two miles long, known now as *Konsªr Nāg*, the *Kramasaras* or *Kramasāra* of the Nīlamata and Māhātmyas.[35] It is supposed to mark a footstep (*krama*) of Viṣṇu and is the proper object of

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[30] See note viii. 1665 sq.
[31] See note viii. 177.
[32] See viii. 1674, 1683.
Saṁkaṭa is the regular term for 'pass.'

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[3] Marked on the map as 'Brama Sakal,' perhaps a corruption for '*Brahmaśikhara*, Brahman's peak

[34] See *Nīlamata*, 33 sqq. ; *Haracar*. iv. 27 ; *Śrīv*. i. 474 sqq. ; *Śarvāvatāra*, iii. 4, 12; v. 43, etc.

[35] See *Śrīv*. i. 482 sqq. where a visit of Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn to this lake is related at length ; *Nīlamata*, 121, 1272; *Naubandhanamāhātmya*, passim ; *Sarvāvatāra*, iii. 10 ; v. 174, etc.

the Naubandhana pilgrimage.

Pass of *Siddhapatha* :

About eight miles straight to the west of this lake the range is crossed by a pass over 14,000 feet high, known now by the name of *Sidau* or *Būdil*. It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects Śrīnagar with Akhnūr and Siālkot in the Panjāb plain. Running up and down high ridges it is adopted only for foot-traffic. But owing to its shortness it was formerly a favourite route with Kaśmīrīs.[36] The name *Sidau* is given to the pass from the first village reached by it on the Kaśmīr side. It is by this name, in its original form SIDDHAPATH, that the pass is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle as the route chosen for a pretender's irruption in Sussala's reign.[37]

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[36] According to DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 524, the distance from Jammu to Śrīnagar by the Sidau route is reckoned at 129 miles, whereas *via* the Bān hāl it is 177 miles.

The name Būdil is given to the pass from the hill district adjoining it from the south ; compare my note vi. 318.

[37] See viii. 557.

In the Chronicles of Śrīvara and his successors the tract about Sidau is repeatedly referred to as *Siddhā-adeśa*, an evident adaptation of the Kś. form of the name.

A snowy peak close to the west of the pass of Siddhapatha marks the point where the main range changes its direction towards north-north-west. From the same point there branches off in a westerly direction the lower Ratan Pīr Range to which we shall have to refer below. Beyond it lie the passes of Rūprī and Darhāl, both above 13,000 feet in height. They are not distinctly named in the Chronicles ; but as they give most direct access to Rajaurī, the ancient Rājapurī, and are crossed without much trouble during the summer months, they are likely to have been used from an early time. Near the Darhāl Pass lies the *Nandan Sar*, one of the numerous tarns which mark along this portion of the chain the rock-ground beds of old glaciers. It is probably the *Nandana Nāga* of the Nīlamata.

Pīr Pan^{ts}āl Route:

42. About five miles due north of the Nandan Sar we reach the lowest dip in the central part of the whole range. It is marked by the pass known as *Pīr Pan*$_{ts}$*āl*, 11,400 feet high. The route which crosses it, has from early days to the present time been the most frequented line of communication from Kaśmīr to the central part of the Panjāb. The frequent references which the Chronicles make to this route, permit us to follow it with accuracy from the point where it enters the mountains. This is in the valley of the Rembyār^{a}, river (*Ramaṇyāṭavī*) a little below the village of *Hur^{a}por*.

Śūrapura:

This place, the ancient Śūrapura, is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kaśmīr from Rājapurī and the neighbouring places, or *vice versa* as the point of departure for those travelling in the opposite direction.[38] Śūrapura was founded by Śūra, the minister of Avantivarman, in the ninth century, evidently with the intention of establishing a convenient emporium on this important trade route.[39] He transferred to this locality the watch-station (*draṅga*) of the pass. Its site can still be traced at the place known as *Ilāhī Darwāza* ('the gate of God') a short distance above the village.[40] We see the commanders of this frontier-station more than once engaged in military operations against intending invaders from the other side of the mountains.

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[38] See Note *D*, iii. 227, * 1.

[39] Compare note v 39.

[40] See *J.Ā.S.B.*, 1895. p. 385. This paper should be compared for all details regarding the other old sites along this route.

Ascending the valley of the Rembyār^{a} or Ramaṇyāṭavī for about seven miles we reach the point where the streams coming from the Pīr Pantsāl and Rūprī Passes unite. In the angle formed by them rises a steep rocky hillock which bears on its top a small ruined fort known as *Kāmelankoṭh*. These ruins probably go back only to the time of the Afghān Governor of Kaśmīr, ʻAṭā Muḥammad-Khān, who, about 1812, fortified the Pīr-Pantsāl route against the Sikh invasion then threatening. But I have proved in the above-quoted paper that they mark the original position occupied by the ancient watch-station on this route before its transfer to Śūrapura.[41] Kalhaṇa, iii. 277, calls this site KRAMAVARTA, which name is rendered by a glossator of the seventeenth century as Kāmelanakoṭṭa and still survives in the present *Kāmelankoṭh* (**Kramavartānāṁ koṭṭa*).

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[41] *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 384 sq.

Hastivañja:

43. The old 'Imperial Road' constructed by Akbar, then ascends the narrow valley, keeping on its left side high above the Pīr-Pantsāl stream. At a distance of about four miles above Kāmelankoṭh and close to the Mughal Sarai of Alīābād, we arrive at a point where a high mountain-ridge sloping down from the south falls off towards the valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs. The ridge is known as *Hast*^{i}*vañj*. This name and the surviving local tradition makes it quite certain that we have here the spot at which a curious legend told by Kalhaṇa was localized from early times.[42]

The Chronicle, i. 302 sqq., relates of king *Mihirakula*, whose identity with the White Hun ruler of that name (circ. A.D. 515-50) is not doubtful, that when on his return from a tour of conquest through India he reached the 'Gate of Kaśmīr,' he heard the death-cry of an elephant which had fallen over the precipice. The gruesome sound so delighted the cruel king that he had a hundred more elephants rolled down at the same spot. The old glossator on the passage informs us that "since that occurrence the route by which Mihirakula returned is called *Hastivañja.*" The Persian Chroniclers, too, in reproducing the anecdote give *Hastivanj* as the name of the locality.

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[42] Compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 378 sqq., and note i.302.

The local tradition of the neighbouring hill-tracts still retains the story of a king's elephants having fallen down here into the gorge below. It also maintains that the old route to the Pass, in the times before the construction of the 'Imperial Road,' crossed the *Hastivañj* ridge and followed throughout the right bank of the Pīr Pantsāl stream. This is fully borne out by a statement of Abū-l-Fazl.[43] Describing the several routes available on the march from Bhimbhar to Kaśmīr, he clearly distinguishes "the route of Hastivanj (MSS. Hastivatar) which was the former route for the march of troops," from the 'Pīr Pantsāl route' which Akbar used on his visits to Kaśmīr.

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[43] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 347 sq. The form *Hastivatar* in the text is a clerical error for *Hastivanj*, easily explained in Persian characters ; see note i. 302.

The name Hast^{i}vañj contains in its first part undoubtedly *hast^i*, the Kś. derivative of Skr. *hastin*, 'elephant.' The second part is connected by the Persian compilators with the root *vanj* meaning 'to go' in Western Panjābī. The close connection between the name and the local legend already heard by Kalhaṇa is evident enough. But whether the latter had any foundation in fact, or merely arose from some 'popular etymology' of the name, cannot be decided.

The story helps in any case to make it quite clear that the ancient route from the Pīr Pantsāl Pass kept to the right or southern side of the valley. My inquiries on the spot showed that this route though neglected for many centuries is passable for laden animals and not unfrequently used by smugglers.[44]

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[44] Dr. Bernier, who in the summer of 1665 accompanied Aurangzeb's court to Kaśmīr, has left us in his Ninth Letter to M. de Merveilles, an accurate and graphic account of the Pīr Pantsāl route. While ascending the Pass from the *Panjāb* side, he passed the spot where two days earlier an accident had happened curiously resembling Mihirakula's story. Fifteen of the elephants carrying ladies of the Imperial seraglio, owing to some confusion in the line of march, fell over

Pañcāladhārāmaṭha :

44. ‘Alīābād Sarai is a Mug͟hal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above Hast'vañj. It is about the highest point on the ascent to the pass where fuel can be conveniently obtained. I think it hence probable that the *Maṭha* or hospice which Kṣemendra mentions on the Pīr Pantsāl pass, must have been situated somewhere in this neighbourhood.

Kṣemendra makes this interesting reference in that curious portion of the Samayamātṛkā already alluded to above, which describes the wanderings of the courtesan Kaṅkālī.[45] The The heroine of his story after effecting some petty thefts in Kaśmīr proceeds to *Śūrapura.* There she passes herself off as the wife of a load-carrier (*bhārika*) engaged on the ‘salt-road’[46] By this term the Pīr Pan͟tsāl route

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the precipice and were lost ; see Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 407. The curious map of Kaśmīr given it the Amsterdam edition of 1672, shows accordingly the ‘*Pire Penj le*’ mountain with a troop of elephants. rolling in picturesque confusion over its side.

[45] See *Samayam.* ii 90 sqq , and above, * 25.

[46] Professional load-carriers or Coolies are found to this day in numbers in Hurapor, Puṣiāna, and other

is quite correctly designated. It has remained to the present day the chief route by which the produce of the Panjāb salt mines coming *via* Jehlam and Bhimbhar enters Kaśmīr.[47] She keeps up the disguise which is evidently intended to help her through the clutches of the officials at the frontier guard-station, by taking next morning a good load on her head and starting with it towards the pass (*saṁkaṭa*).

On the way she passes along high mountains by precipitous paths, deeply covered with snow. By nightfall she reaches the PANCALADHARAMATHA, after having, in the meantime, assumed the guise of a respectable housewife, and apparently disposed of her load. It being late in the season, she passes the night there shivering with cold, though wrapped up in

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places near the Pīr Pantsal Pass. Of Zainu-l-ʻābidīn it is specially reported that he settled a colony of load-carriers from *Abhisāra* (i.e. the country about Bhimbhar) at the customs station of Śūrapura; see *Śrīv.* i. 408. Coolies are the only means of transport on the Pīr Pantsāl and other passes when the snow lies to any depth.

[47] Salt is a considerable article of import into Kaśmīr where it is wholly wanting; see Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 393. I remember vividly the long strings of salt-laden bullocks which I used to meet daily when marching into Kaśmīr by the Pīr Pantsāl route.

thick woollen cloaks Thence she finds her way open to India where a career of successful adventures awaits her.

The name *Pañcāla*:

45. Kṣemendra's itinerary is of particular value, because it supplies us with the only mention of the old name of the pass I can trace. It is certain that with him *Pañcāladhārā* designates the highest portion of the route, i. e. the Pass of Pīr Pantsāl. It is equally obvious that *Pañcāla* is the original of the modern Kś. *Pantsāl*, which is in fact identical with the earlier form except for the regular change of Skr. *c* into Kś. *ts*. In the Pahārī dialect of the population inhabiting the valleys to the south the name is still pronounced *Pañcāl*.[48]

The term *-dhārā* which is added to Pañcāla, represents in all probability the equivalent of our 'pass'. Skr. *-dhārā* means generally the sharp edge of some object. According to Wilson's Dictionary, as quoted by Bohtlingk-Roth, the word also carries the specific meaning of 'edge of a mountain.' It is probable that this meaning was taken by Wilson's Paṇḍits from some earlier Kośa. In any case it agrees closely with the use of the word *dhār* in the modern Pahārī dialects south of Kaśmīr. There it is well known as the designation of any high mountain-ridge above the region of alpine pasture.

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[48] I am not certain of the origin of the pronunciation of the name as *Pīr Panjāl*, now accepted in Anglo-Indian usage. It is known neither on the Kaśmīr, nor on the Panjāb side of the range itself. It meets us first in Bernier's *Pire Penjale.* Tieffenthaler, however, writes more correctly *Pensal*; see *Description de l'Inda*, 1786, pp. 87 sq.

We are tempted to see in *Pañcāla* a distinct local name either of the Pass itself or of the whole mountain chain. But the use of the modern derivative *Pantsāl* presents difficulties in the way of a certain conclusion. The word Pantsāl is now applied in Kaśmīr chiefly to the great mountain-chain which forms the boundary of the country to the south, i. e. the range to which conventional European usage gives the name of 'Pīr Pantsāl.' Yet the meaning conveyed now to a Kaśmīrī by the term Pantsāl, is scarcely more than that of 'high mountain-range.' The word is used in combination with specific names for the designation of subordinate branches of the great range towards the Panjāb. Thus the range crossed on the way from the Pīr Pantsāl Pass to Rajauri, is known as '*Ratan Pantsāl*.' and the one crossed by the Hāji Pīr Pass between Ūrī and Prūnts (Pūnch) as '*Hāji Pantsāl*.' Sometimes, but not so generally, the term is employed also with reference to mountains wholly unconnected with the 'Pīr Pantsāl' system.

On the whole I am inclined to the belief that *Pañtcāla* > *Pantsāl* had originally the character of a specific local name. It may have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountains or its central portion about the Pīr Pantsāl Pass. Subsequent usage may then have extended the application of the term just as it has in Europe that of the name 'Alps.' Our materials, however, are not sufficient to enable us to trace the history of the word with absolute certainty.[49]

Pīr as a term for pass :

46. In this connection it will be useful briefly to notice also the word *Pīr* which forms the first part of the modern designation of the

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[49] The main facts regarding the modern use of the word Pantsāl have been quite correctly recognized already by Mr. Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 157.

Pass. This word is now used more or less generally for 'Pass' both in Kaśmīr and the hill-tracts south of it. Mr. DREW, who seems to have given more attention to local nomenclature in these hills than other travellers, in his explanation of the term starts from the well known meaning of *Pīr* in Persian, an 'old man' and thence 'a saint or Faqīr.'[50]

He refers to the common practice of Faqīrs establishing themselves on Passes for the sake of refreshing travellers and of receiving their alms. "When any noted holy Faqīr died on a pass, the place became sacred to his memory, and was often called after him, his title of Pīr being prefixed; at last it became so common for every important Pass to have a name beginning with Pīr that the word acquired the secondary meaning of Mountain Pass." Mr. DREW refers to the fact that Dr. Bernier already found an aged hermit established on the Pass who had resided there since the time of Jahāngīr. He was supposed "to work miracles, cause strange thunders, and raise storms of wind, hail, snow, and rain." From this 'Pīr,' Mr. Drew thinks, the pass acquired the first part of its present name.

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[50] See *Jummoo*, p. 157, note.

I agree with the above explanation as far as the use of the Persian word Pīr is concerned. But I suspect that the custom of connecting mountain passes with holy personages rests on a far older foundation. Superstitious belief has at all times and in all mountainous regions peopled the solitary summits and high ridges with spirits and other supernatural beings. To this day Kaśmīrian Brahmans fully believe in the presence of Devatās and Bhūtas of all sorts on high mountain passes In those parts of the Himālaya where Hinduism has survived among all classes, this superstition can, no doubt, be found still more fully developed.[51]

On all Kaśmīr passes, however rarely visited, stone-heaps are found marking the supposed graves of imaginary 'Pīrs,' and every pious Muhammadan on passing adds his stone to them. Yet these little cairns existed there in all probability long before Islām reached the country. Exactly the same custom is observed, e.g., by the Hindu pilgrims to Amaranātha on crossing the Vāv^{a}jan Pass above the lake of Suśravanāga, 'to please the Devas' as the Māhātmya says.[52] We can show that all famous Ziārats in Kaśmīr, whether of real or imaginary Muhammadan Saints, occupy sites which were sacred in earlier times to one or the other Hindu divinity. We can scarcely go far wrong in concluding by their analogy that the 'Pīrs' of the Muhammadan wayfarers have only taken the places of the older Hindu 'Devas.'

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[51] Compare, e.g. for such superstitions in Kumaun, Sir W. Hunter's *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, p. 54.

Pañcāladeva :

A striking confirmation of this surmise is afforded by the only passage of the Sanskrit Chronicles which mentions the Pīr Pantsāl Pass by its proper name. Śrīvara, iii. 433, when relating the return of a Kaśmīr refugee 'by the route of Śūrapura' in the time of Hassan S͟hāh (circ. A.D. 1472-84), tells us of a fatal chill he caught 'on the top of the *Pañcāladeva*.' It is clear that the name here used corresponds exactly to the modern Pīr Pants͟āl, 'Pīr' being the nearest Muhammadan equivalent for 'Deva.' Dr. Bernier's account has already shown us that popular superstition had not failed to transfer also the supernatural powers of the 'Deva' to the Pīr who acted as his representative on the pass.

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[52] See *Amaranāthamāhātmya*, vii. 1 sqq. The stones placed are supposed to represent *maṭhikās*, 'shelter-huts,' in which the gods can find refuge from the evil wind blowing on the pass (hence its alleged Skr. name *Vāyuvarjana*). The duty of making these Maṭhikās is enjoined in vii. 19. *Maṭhikām ye na kurvanti tatraiva Vāyuvarjane / dāruṇam narakam yānti śatakalpam na samśayaḥ // kṛtvā tu maṭhikām devi pūjayed vidhipūrvakam / arpayed devaprītyartham dakṣiṇābhiḥ samanvitam //.*

Pass of Pīr Pants͟āl :

47. We may now return to the description of the old route where we left it at 'Alīābād Sarai and resume our journey towards the Pass. From the Mug͟hal hospice the road ascends in a gently sloping valley westwards until at a distance of about 4½ miles the Pass is reached. Close to the point where the descent towards the Panjāb side begins, stands the hut of a Faqīr. He has inherited the post of Bernier's Pīr, but little of his spiritual powers and emoluments. An octagonal watch-tower close by, occupied by a Sepoy post till a few years ago, may mark the site of an earlier outpost.

Puṣyāṇanāḍa:

The descent is here as on all Passes of the range far steeper on the Panjāb side than towards Kaśmīr. *Puṣiāna*, the next stage, which is reached by zigzag paths along the rocky slope of the mountain, lies already more than 3000 feet below the Pass. The little village is an ancient place. It is undoubtedly the *Puṣyānanāḍa* of Kalhaṇa who mentions it repeatedly in connection with the civil wars of his own time.[53] Puṣyāṇanāḍa served as a refuge for rebel leaders for whom Kaśmīr had become too hot. They could thence conveniently resume their inroads. We see here again clearly that the Kaśmīr frontier ran on the watershed of the range. For, of *Puṣyāṇanāḍa*, it is distinctly said that it belonged already to the territory of *Rājapurī*.

From Puṣiāna the road descends in a westerly direction along the bed of a stream which belongs to the headwaters of the Tauṣī (Tohī) of Prūn$\underline{\text{ts}}$. The next stage is the hill-village of Bahrāmgala, a considerable place, which is mentioned already by Śrīvara under the name of BHAIRAVAGALA.[54] From Bahrāmgala the route turns to the south and crosses, by the Pass known as Ratan Pīr (8200 feet), the range which has already been referred to as a branch from the Pīr Pantsāl chain. Here the route enters the region of the middle mountains and descends in an open valley to Rajaurī, the ancient Rājapurī, where we may leave it.

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[53] Compare note viii. 959. The ending -*nāḍa* is identical with *nala*, Anglo-Indica, 'Nullah,' i.e. 'valley, ravine.'

Central part of Pīr Pantsāl :

48. Beyond the Pīr Pantsāl Pass the summit-line of the main range rises again considerably. The *Tangtala* Pass, which is about five miles due north of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass, and is mentioned by Abū-l-Fazl,[55] is already far higher. The track crossing it is scarcely practicable for laden animals.

The same is the case, as personal experience showed me, with the next two Passes, known by the Pahārī names of *Cittapānī* and *Coṭī Galī*; they are both over 14,000 feet in height. The first-named one was probably used on occasion of the inroad related by Śrīvara, iv. 589 sqq. We are told there of a rebel force which coming from Rajaurī got round the troops of Sultān Muhammad Shāh posted at Śūrapura by crossing the mountains in the direction of KACAGALA. This place, as shown on the map, corresponds undoubtedly to the alpine plateau or 'Marg' of Kāc°gul on the northern slope of the Pīr Pantsāl range.

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[54] See *Śrīv.* iv. 529, 589.

[55] See *Aīn-i Akbarī*, ii. p. 348.

Mount Taṭakūṭī:

A short distance to the north-west of the Coṭī Galī Pass the range culminates in its greatest snowy peak, Mount *Taṭakūṭī*, which rises to a height of 15,524 feet. Owing to its bold shape and central position this peak is the most conspicuous in the panorama of the whole range whether seen from the Kaśmīr Valley or from the Panjāb plains. To the north it presents a precipitous face of unscaleable rocks. On the south it is surrounded by snowfields which on occasion of an ascent made late in the season I found still of considerable extent. We have already seen that it is this peak which Alberūnī describes under the name of *Kulārjāk*[56]. For an observer from the Panjāb plains about Gujrāt, the appearance of the peak, with its glittering dome of snow, is very striking, notwithstanding the great distance (about eighty-seven miles as the crow flies). I have sighted it on clear days even from Lahore Minārs.

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[56] Compare above, * 14.

From Taṭakūṭī the chain continues at a great elevation for a considerable distance, the summit-ridge keeping an average height between 14,000 and 15,000 feet. We find it crossed first by the passes of *Sangsafēd*, *Nūr pūr*, and *Corgalī*, all difficult routes leading down into the Valley of Lohᵃrin, the ancient Lohara. It is only at the Toṣᵃmaidān Pass that we meet again with an important and ancient line of communication.

Toṣᵃmaidān Pass:

49. This Pass being on the most direct route between the Kaśmir capital and Lohara, was of special importance during the reigns of the later Kaśmirian kings whose original home and safest stronghold was in Lohara. We find accordingly the route leading over the Toṣᵃmaidān Pass often referred to in the last two Books of Kalhaṇa's Chronicles. But apart from this historical connection, the Toṣᵃmaidān route must have always been prominent among the old lines of communication from Kaśmīr, owing to its natural advantages. It was the shortest route into the valley of Pūnch (Parnotsa) and hence to that portion of the Western Panjāb which lies between the Jehlam and Indus. It was, besides, under the old conditions of road and travel, probably the easiest and safest route in that direction.[57]

Kārkoṭadraṅga:

This old route started from the present village of *Drang*, situated at the foot of the mountains in the Bīru Pargana, circ. 33° 57′ lat. 74° 36′ long. The name of the village is, of course, nothing but the old term of *draṅga*, 'watch- station.' In old times the place was distinguished as KARKOTADRANGA.[58] It may have received the distinctive first part of its name, *Kārkoṭa*, from the mountain-ridge now known as *Kākodar*, which is passed higher up on the route. Kś. Kākodar could well be derived from an earlier Skr. form like **Kārko*-

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[57] The historical references to this route will be found collected in Note *E* (iv. 177). ** 5-14.

[58] Compare notes vii. 140; viii. 1596.

ṭadhara. The Tīrthasamgraha also mentions a *Kārkoṭanāga* somewhere in this direction.

From Drang, where a customs-station exists to the present day, the road ascends over an easy forest-clad slope to the edge of the Toṣᵃmaidān. This is, as the name indicates, a large upland plateau of undulating grazing grounds, rising very gradually from a level of about 10,000 feet. At the point where the road strikes the northern edge of the plateau there are several ruined towers. They seem to have been last repaired on occasion of the Sikh invasion of 1814, to be referred to below, but are probably far older. The spot is known to this day as *Barbal*, which in Kś. means 'the place of the Gate' (Kś. *bar* < Skr. *dvāra*). In view of this designation and the commanding position of the place we can safely locate here the proper Dvāra or 'Gate' of this route.[59]

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[59] The term *Dvāra* is actually used by Kalhaṇa, vii. 140, 1301, for a fortified post on this route. The village Drang is a suitable enough position for a customs and police-station; the natural point for military defence, however, is higher up at 'Barbal.'

The route after crossing the Toṣᵊmaidān plateau, ascends over gently sloping grassy ridges to the Kākodar spur and passing along the south foot of the latter reaches the Pass. The ascent is so gradual and easy that though the elevation of the latter is over 13,000 feet, the construction of a cart-road would so far meet with little difficulty. The Pass irself is equally easy.

On its west side two routes are available. One descends in the Gāgrī Valley past the village of *Chāmbar*, mentioned in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* by the name of Śarambara.[60] The other leads over a cross spur in a south-westerly direction straight down into the valley now known as Lohᵊrin.

Lohara:

The position of the ancient castle of Lohara, which I was able to trace in the centre of this gerat and fertile valley, has been fully discussed above in Note *E*.[61] About eight miles further down the valley and at the point where its waters meet the stream coming from

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[60] See note viii. 1875-77.

[61] See Note *E*, vi. 177.

Gāgrī, lies the large village of Maṇḍī. It marks the site of the old 'Market of ATTALIKA,' repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[62] From Maṇḍī onwards the route passes into the open valley of the Tohī (Tauṣī) of Prūnts which offers an easy line of communication down to the plains.

Importance of Toṣ°maidān Route:

The historical importance of the Toṣ°maidān route is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for serious attempts at invading Kaśmīr. We have already referred to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's expedition, probably of A.D. 1021, which Alberūnī accompanied and to which we owe the valuable information already detailed.[63] This attempt at invasion, perhaps the most serious of which we know during Hindu times, was brought to a standstill by the valorous defence of the castle of Lohara and a timely fall of snow. Nor was Mahārāja Raṇjit Singh more successful when in 1814, he first attempted to invade Kaśmīr by this route.[64] The portion of the

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[62] See note viii. 581.

[63] above, * 14.

[64] For a more detailed account of this expedition, see Note *E*, iv. 177, * 14.

Sikh army led by him in person, safely reached the Toṣᵃmaidān plateau where the Afghān defenders were posted near the towers above mentioned. Difficulties of supplies, however, and the news of a defeat of the column marching by the Pīr Pantsāl route forced on a retreat which in the mountain defiles about Lohᵃrin ended in a complete rout,

In may yet be mentioned that the route over the Toṣᵃmaidān was already in all probability followed by Hiuen Tsiang on his way to Parṇotsa or Prūnts.[65] It remained a favourite trade route until the recent Jehlam Valley cart-road was constructed. Owing to the elevation of the Pass, however, this route is always closed by snow longer than, that of the Pīr Pantsāl. During the winter, therefore, the road from Lohara to Kaśmīr lay by the lower passes in the west leading into the Vitastā Valley below Bārāmūla.[66]

Not far to the north of the Toṣᵃmaidān Pass the range attains yet a height of over

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[65] Compare above, * 9.

[66] See Note *E*. (iv. 177), ** 7,8, for Kalhaṇa's references to the occasions when this more circuitous route was used.

15,000 feet in a group of bold snowy peaks. Its summit-ridge then gradually descends, and is crossed by some lower passes from the neighbourhood of the well-known alpine plateau of Gulmarg. From a summit behind Gulmarg (marked *Sallar* on the map) several spurs radiate. They form the northern end of the range and descend at their extreme points very steeply and with faces of rugged cliffs into the narrow valley of the Vitastā.

SECTION III.—THE VITASTA VALLEY

Valley of the Vitastā:

50. We have already spoken of the Vitastā Valley as the single outlet for the waters of Kaśmīr, and as the great gate of the country. We may now cast a glance at the old route leading through it, and at the defences by which nature has fortified it.

The Vitastā Valley below Bārāmūla is confined between two ranges of mountains. The one to the south is a branch of the Pīr Pantsāl Range, separating from the main chain at a point behind Gulmarg. The range to the north belongs to a mountain-system which culminates in the Kājnāg Peak (14,400 feet), and is usually designated by the name of the latter. These two ranges accompany the course of the river with gradually lessening height for some eighty miles westwards down to the point near Muzaffarābād, where the Vitastā makes its sudden bend to the south.

Along the whole length of the Valley, cross-ridges, more or less steep and rugged, run from both sides down to the river's bed. This consists from below Bārāmūla of an almost unbroken succession of rapids, the fall in level being nearly 3000 feet in the above distance. The Valley is throughout narrow and wanting in level ground. But for about fifty miles down to the old Kaśmīr frontier line, it may more fitly be described as a narrow ravine in which only occasional alluvial plateaus high above the river afford scanty room for settlement and cultivation.

Owing to this extremely confined nature of the Valley communication on the route leading along it must have always been troublesome and risky in old times. The natural difficulties of this long defile were, no doubt, considerably increased by the restless disposition of the Khaśa tribe, which has held it since ancient times. The Sikhs, who were the last to fight their way through these passes, suffered here more than one disaster at the hands of the hillmen. The line of forts erected by them along the valley, attests to this day the trouble they experienced in holding the passage. [1] The military difficulties of a march through such a succession of dangerous defiles must have been even greater in old times which knew no fire-arms. The protection of the route against an active enemy who could easily seize and hold all commanding positions, was then, no doubt, a still more difficult task.

Vitastā Valley Route :

51. It is probably on account of the circumstances here briefly indicated, that we hear in the Chronicles comparatively little of the route following the Vitastā. Being the shortest line of communication to the present Hazāra district and the Indus, it was certainly used from early times.

We have seen that Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong coming from the ancient Gandhāra and Uraśā, followed it on their way to Kaśmīr, and that it was well known to Albērūnī. But it seems probable that its importance, military and commercial, was then far smaller than that of the Pīr Pantsāl and Toṣᵃmaidān routes. It is only in modern times that this western route has attained real prominence. This originated in the time of the Afghān rule over Kaśmīr, when the route along the Vitastā to Muzaffarābād and hence through Hazāra, afforded the shortest and least exposed line of communication between Kaśmīr and Peshawar.[2] Subsequently after the annexation of the Panjāb the establishment of the hill-station of Murree naturally drew traffic in this direction. The construction of the Tonga Road from Murree to Bārāmūla in our own time, finally assured to this route its present supremacy.

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[1] Moorcroft's account of his attempt to use the Muzaffarābād route in 1823, gives a graphic picture of the obstacles created by the rapacious hill-tribes ; see *Travels*. ii. pp. 281 sqq. Compare also LAWRENCE, *Valley*. p. 200.

There is at present a road on each side of the valley leading down to Muzaffarābād. But only the road along the right bank of the river can claim any antiquity. The one on the opposite bank which is now represented by the new carriage road, has come into general use only within the last few decades since traffic towards Murree and Rawalpindi sprung up. The track chosen for the old road is easily accounted for by topographical facts.

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[2] Baron Hugel quite correctly notes a Kaśmīr tradition that the Bārāmūla route was properly opened up only about eighty years before his own visit (1835), on the arrival of the Paṭhāns ; see KASCHMIR, ii. p. 174

Connection with Uraśā :

We have already noticed that the Vitastā Valley route was of importance chiefly as leading to Hazāra (Uraśā), and hence to the old Gandhāra. A glance at the map will show that the open central portion of Hazāra is most easily gained by crossing the Kiṣangaṅgā just above Muzaffarābād, and then passing the comparatively low ridge which separates this river from the Kunhār stream. The route here indicated finds its natural continuation towards Kaśmīr on the right bank of the Vitastā, the crossing of the latter being wholly avoided. It has already been shown above that the route, now marked by Abbottabad, Garhi Habībulla, Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla as the chief stages, is directly indicated in Albērūnī's itinerary .[8]

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[8] See above. § 14.

Gate of Varāhamūla :

52. We may now proceed to examine the old notices regarding this route, proceeding again from the Kaśmīr side. The route started from the twin towns of Varāhamūla-Auṣkapura, which occupied the sites of the present Bārāmūla and Uṣkūr, respectively. Huṣkapura on the left river bank, the more important of the two places in ancient times, has dwindled down to a mere village. But Varāhamūla-Bārāmūla on the opposite bank is still a flourishing place and an emporium of trade. It occupies a narrow strip of open ground between the river and the foot of a steep mountain side.

Drang at Varāhamūla :

Close to the western end of the town a rocky ridge, with precipitous slope, runs down into the river-bed. Only a few yards' space is left open for the road. At this point there stood till last year (1897) an old ruined gateway, known to the people as the *Drang* or 'watch-station.' It had been occupied as a military police post, and until the 'Rāhdārī' system was abolished, watch was kept here over those who entered or left the Valley. I had examined the gateway in 1892. When revisiting the spot in May, 1898, I could scarcely trace its foundations, the decayed walls having been sold by auction and its materials carried away by a contractor.

Though the structure I had seen, was scarcely older than the time of Sikh rule, there can be little doubt that it marked the site of the ancient 'Gate' of Varāhamūla. This is clearly indicated by the situation of the spot which is by far the most convenient in the neighbourhood for the purpose of a watch-station. Moorcroft does not mention the name *Drang*, but describes the gateway accurately enough.

Here then, we may assume, stood in ancient times "the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom," through which Hiuen Tsiang had passed before he reached Huṣkapura (*Hu-se-kia-lo*), his first night's quarter in the Valley.[4] Ou-k'ong, too, and Albērūnī, as we have seen, knew well this watch-station, which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the general designation of *Dvāra.*[5]

The road keeps close by the bank of the

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[4] See *Vie de Hiouen-thsang*. p. 90.

[5] See note viii, 413.

river as it winds in rapid fall through the rock-bound gorge. About two and a half miles below 'Drang' the hillsides recede slightly, leaving room for a small village called *Nārān Thal.* Near it stands a little temple, with a spring close by which is visited by pilgrims and is probably identical with the *Nārāyaṇasthāna* of the Nīlamata [6]

Yakṣadara :

About a mile below this point, and close to the little village of Khad-niyār.[7] The river is forced to a sharp bend by a steep and narrow spur projecting into the valley from the north-west. A ledge of rocks running below the river-bed forms the first serious rapid of the Vitastā, below which boats cannot pass (see map). The road crosses the spur by a narrow and deep cut known as *Dyārᵃgul.* Kalhaṇa's Chronicle knows this curious cutting by the appropriate name of YAKSADARA, 'the demon's cleft.' According to the tradition there recorded, the operations by which Suyya, Avantivarman's engineer, lowered the level of the Vitastā, extended to this point of the river-bed.[8]

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[6] See *Nīlamata,* 1179, 1315, 1349. The name occors also repeatedly in the several Varāhakṣetramāhātmyas

[7] Perhaps the *Khādanāvihāra* of iii 14.

Old frontier in Vitastā Valley :

53. Two miles below Dyār°gul we pass near the village of Zehenpor some ancient sites vaguely described by Vigne and Von Hügel. Still further down near the village of Gingal the map marks the ruins of a temple which I have not been able to visit. But no localities on this route are known to us from our old sources until after about three and a half daily marches we reach the side valley marked on the map as 'Peliasa.' This valley and the large village at its entrance are known indeed to the Pahārī population by the name of *Peliāsā*. But tha Kaśmīrīs settled at several places along the Vitastā Valley call them *Buliāsa*. This form of the name which I ascertained by local inquiries, has enabled me to identify this locality with the BOLYASAKA of the Kājataraṅgiṇī.

Kalhaṇa in his account of Śamkaravarman's ill-fated expedition towards the Indus (A.D. 902), mentions Bolyāsaka as the place where the Kaśmīr army retreating from Uraśā reached the border of their own territory.[9] The reference is of special interest as it shows that Kaśmīr authority extended in Hindu times down to this point of the Valley. We can easily reconcile this fact with the existence of the 'Dvāra' at Varāhamūla.

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[8] Compare note v. 87.
[9] See note v. 225.

The gorge at the latter place offered a convenient position for establishing a watch station which was to secure control over the traffic and the collection of customs. But in regard to military defence a frontier line in the immediate vicinity of the Kaśmīr Valley would have been very unsafe. I believe, therefore, that the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla was held as an outlying frontier-tract as far as the present Buliāsa. It is exactly a few miles below this place that ascending the valley the first serious difficulties are encountered on the road. An advanced frontier-post could scarcely have occupied a strategically more advantageous position.

Vīrānaka :

The conclusion here indicated is fully supported by what Kalhaṇa's narrative tells us of a locality almost exactly opposite to Buliāsa. Kalhaṇa mentions in two places a place called VIRANAKA in connection with events which make it clear that it lay in the Vitastā Valley and just on the border of Kaśmīr territory.[10] I have been able to trace the position of Vīrānaka at the modern hill-village of *Vīran*, near the left bank of the Vitastā and only a short distance above Buliāsa.

Frontier-tract of *Dvāravatī*:

The valley below the old frontier thus marked is now known as *Dvārbidi*. Its ancient name is supplied to us by an old gloss of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which speaks of Bolyāsaka as situated in Dvāravatī. Local inquiries have shown me that even to the present day popular tradition indicates a ridge a short distance above Buliāsa as the eastern limit of Dvārbidī.[11] In the account of S'amkaravarman's above-mentioned expedition six marches are counted from the capital of Uraśā to Bolyāsaka. This agrees exactly with the present reckoning which also counts six marches from the vicinity of Buliāsa to Abbottabad.[12] Near this place, the modern headquarters of the Hazāra District, the old capital of Uraśā was in all probability situated.

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[10] See v. 214 and viii. 409. In the first passage we hear of an attack made on Vitastā by the chief commander of the frontier posts (*dvāreśa*). In the second Virānaka is referred to as a settlement of Khaśas which offered the first safe refuge to Sussala when driven from Varāhamūla, A.D. 1111.

[11] See v. 225, and note v. 214.

Left bank of Vitastā :

54. It remains to notice briefly what we know of ancient localities on the left side of the Valley. As already explained, there was no great line of communication on this side corresponding to the present Murree-Bārāmūla Road. Yet for two marches down the Valley, as far as Ūrī, the route of the left bank is likely to have been much frequented. From Ūrī a convenient route leads over the easy Hāji Pīr Pass to Prūnts or Parṇotsa. This pass, owing to its small elevation, only 8500 feet, is never completely closed by snow. It is hence much used by the inhabitants of all the higher valleys draining into the Prūnts Tohī, during the winter months when the more direct routes to Kaśmīr *via* the Pīr Pantsāl, Toṣᵉmaidān, or other high passes are rendered impassable.

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[12] Compare note v. 217; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p 104, and DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 528.

Marching down the valley from Uṣkūr : Huṣkapura, we first cross the spur which bounds the gorge of Varāhamūla from the south. We then reach a fertile little plain, about two miles broad, charmingly situated in an amphitheatre of high pine-clad mountains and facing the Dyārᵃgul ridge. It is known as *Nārᵃvāv* and contains, at the villages of Śīr and Fattegarh, considerable remains of ancient temples. On a small plateau which forms the western boundary of this plain by the riverbank, lies the village of *Kits̱ᵃhom* It marks the site of the ancient Buddhist convent of Kṛtyāśarama, the foundation of which a curious legend related by Kalhaṇa attributes to the son of Aśoka.[13]

At Būniār, near the end of the first day's march, are passed the well-preserved ruins of an ancient temple which are of considerable antiquarian interest. Its name and date cannot be traced in our extant records. Another similar ruin, but far more decayed, flanks the road about midway between Būniāṛ and Ūrī.

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[13] See note i. 147; also *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 13 sqq. Kṛtyāśrama is mentioned already by Kṣemendra, *Samayam.* ii. 61.

From near the latter place the Vitastā Valley is held on the left bank chiefly by the Khakha tribe, on the right by the closely related Bombas. In the former we recognize the ancient *Khaśas* whose settlements, lower down the valley at Vīrānaka, are distinctly mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[14] The predatory habits and restless ways of the Khaśas form a frequent theme in the Chronicle. The modern Khakhas and Bombas have up to the middle of the present century done their best to maintain this ancient reputation, just as their seats have remained the old ones.

SECTION IV.—THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN MOUNTAIN-RANGES.

Range towards Kiṣangaṅgā :

55. The mountains which enclose the Kaśmīr Valley in the north-west and north, may be looked upon as one great range. Their chain nowhere shows any marked break though its direction changes considerably. The routes leading through these mountains have never been of such importance in the history of Kaśmīr as the routes towards India and the

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[14] viii. 409.

west. Hence our information regarding the old topography of this mountain-range is also far less detailed

We are least informed about that portion of the range which joins on to the Kājnāg Peak north-west of Bārāmūla and then continues in the direction of south to north towards the upper Kiṣangaṅgā. The watershed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kaśmīr towards *Karnāv*, the ancient Karnāha.[1] This territory which may be roughly described as lying between the Kiṣangaṅgā and the Kājnāg Range, seems at times to have been tributary to Kaśmīr. We hear of it only in the concluding portion of Kalhaṇ's Chronicle. There, too, no details are given to us regarding the routes leading to it. These routes, as the map shows, start from the ancient districts of *Śāmāla* (Hamal) and *Ūttara* (Uttar).

At the point where the summit of the range comes nearest to the Kiṣangaṅgā, it takes a turn to the east and continues in this direction for more than a hundred miles. The summit ridge keeps after this turn at a fairly uniform height of 12,000 to 13,000 feet for a long distance. From the northern parts of the Uttar and Lolau Parganas saveral routes cross the range in the direction of the Kiṣangaṇgā

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[1] Compare note viii. 2485.

Route to Śardi :

Kalhaṇa has occasion to refer to these in connection with the expedition which was directed in his own time against the *Śiraḥśilā* castle. This stood on the Kiṣangaṅgā close to the ancient Tīrtha of the goddess *Śāradā* still extant at the present Śardi[2] One of these routes, still followed at the present day by the pilgrims to the shrine, leads past the village of *Drang*, situated at 74° 18′ 45″ long. 43° 33′ 30″ lat. It is certain that the place took its name from an ancient watch - station here located and is identical with the DRANGA mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the above expedition.[3]

Besides the route marked by this old frontier-station there are others leading in the same direction. One is to the west over the Sītalvan Pass. The other lies in the east and passing through the valley of Kroras descends directly upon Śardi along the Madhumatī stream. The portion of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley into which these routes lead, can never have been of much importance itself, though there are indications of gold-washing having been carried on in it.[4] But from Śardi starts a route leading very directly by the Kankatorī (Sarasvatī) River and over a high pass into Cilās on the Indus.[5] This line of communication may already in old times have brought some traffic to Śardi.

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[2] Compare regarding the *Śāradātīrtha* and the castle of *Śiraḥśilā*, Notes i. 36 *(B)*, and viii. 2492 (*L*), respectively.

[3] See note viii. 2507.

Owing to the inroads made by the Cilāsīs and the restless Bomba chiefs of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, the Paṭhān governors found it necessary to settle Afrīdīs at Drang and in the neighbouring villages to guard the passes. The presence of these Paṭhān colonies shows that the conditions which necessitated the maintenance of the old watch-station at Draṅga, had altered little in the course of centuries.

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[4] Compare Note *B* (i. 36), §§ 2, 16. To this circumstance the village of *Drang* owes probably the distinguishing designation of *Sunᵃ-Drang*, 'the Gold-Drang,' by which it is popularly known.

[5] *See* Bates, *Gazetteer*, p 490.

Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley :

56. Above Śardi the course of the Kiṣangaṅgā lies for a long distance through an almost inaccessible and uninhabited gorge. Hence for over thirty miles eastwards we find no proper route across the mountain-range. Kalhaṇa gives us a vivid and interesting account of the difficulties offered by a winter-march along the latter, where he describes the escape of the pretender Bhoja from the Śiraḥśilā castle to the Darads on the upper Kiṣangaṅgā.[6]

The first line of communication we meet is, however, an important one. It leads from the north shore of the Volur lake into that part of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley which is known as *Gurēz*, and connects with the routes leading to Astor and the Baltī territory on the Indus. The road used in recent years, and now improved by British engineers into the 'Gilgit Transport Road,' crosses the range by the Trāgᵊbal or Rāzdiangən Pass, nearly 12,000 feet high . But the route frequented in ancient times lay some eight miles further to the east.

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[6] See viii. 2710 sqq.

Pass of *Dugdhaghāta* :

Kalhaṇa refers in several passages to the hill-fort of Dugdhaghāta, which guarded the mountain-route leading into Kaśmīr territory from inroads of the Darads. The latter can easily be shown to have held then as now the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley about Gurēz and the neighbouring territories to the north. From Kalhaṇa's description it is evident that this frontier-fort which was first occupied by a Kaśmīr baron, but subsequently fell into the Darads' hands, stood on, or close to, the summit of a pass. With the help of the indications of the Chronicle, I was able to identify the site of this fort on the top of the *Dudᵊkhut* Pass.[7]

The Pass is approached on the Kaśmīr side from the valley of the Baṇdᵊpōr stream, still known to the Brahmans by its old name *Madhumatī*. At the small village of Ātavuth (map 'Atawat' a side valley is entered which is narrow and somewhat difficult below. but higher up widens. Its highest portion which forms the immediate approach to the Pass, is an open alpine valley ascending very gradually with a grassy slope. This is known to the mountain shepherds as *Vijje Marg*.

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[7] For detailed evidence regarding this location and a description of the site, see note vii 1171.

Marg <Maṭhi^{k}*ā* :

The term *Marg* which denotes any high alpine grazing ground frequented in the summer by herdsmen, is the modern Kaśmīr equivalent and direct derivative of Skr. *maṭhika*. It designated originally the small huts of stone or wood, usually erected on such high plateaus or valleys for the shelter of the herdsmen.[8] It is probable that Vijje Marg represents the Prājimathikā which Kalhaṇa mentions as the position of the Kaśmīr forces during their unsuccessful siege of the fort.

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[8] Skr. *maṭhikā* is the diminutive of *maṭha*, 'hut,' Sarai.' The Kś. derivative of the latter term, *ma*^{r}, is still used regularly for the rude shelter-huts which are found on the higher passes, particularly towards the north.

As a characteristic point it may be mentioned that the garrison depended for its water-supply on a store of snow. This had become exhausted at the late summer season when the siege was made, but, luckily for the Darad defenders, was replaced by a fresh fall of snow. The latter is explained by the elevation of the Pass, which I estimated at about 11,5000 feet Heavy snow-storms often occur on the neighbouring *Trag°bal* Pass so early as September

From the Dud°khut Pass, an easy track over the ridge marked 'Kiser' on the map, leads down to Gurēz. the chief place of the valley. It corresponds probably to the Daratpurī of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The route over the Dudªkhut, being very direct and comparatively easy during the summer, was much frequented by Dard traders until the recent construction of the 'Gilgit Transport Road.' It also seems to have been mentioned to Baron Hügel.[9] In Muhammadan times both routes were in charge of a 'Malik' who resided in the castle of *Baṇḍªkoṭh*, not far from the ancient Mātṛgrāma shown on the map.

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[9] See *Kaschmir*, ii. p. 169.

In ancient times there probably existed in the same neighbourhood a watch-station or Draṅga. Ou-k'ong, when speaking of the 'gate to the north,' through which the road led to *Po-liu* or Baltistān, may have meant either this Draṅga or the fort of Dugdhaghāta.

Mount *Haramukuṭa* :

57. To the east of the Dudᵃkhut Pass the summits of the range gradually rise higher and higher until we reach the great mountain-mass of the Haramukh Peaks. Rising to close on 17,000 feet and surrounded by glaciers of considerable size these peaks dominate the view towards the north from a great part of the Kaśmīr Valley. Sacred legends have clustered around them from early times, and the lakes below their glaciers belong still to the holiest of Kaśmīrian Tīrthas. The ancient name of the Peaks is Haramukuṭa, 'Śiva's diadem.' This is explained by a legend which is related at length in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi[10] Their height is supposed to be Śiva's favourite residence.[11] Hence, Kaśmīrian tradition stoutly maintains that human feet cannot reach the Peaks' summit.[12]

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[10] See *Haracar*. iv. 62 sqq.

[11] The legends relating to Śiva's residence on Mount Haramukuṭa, and his connection with the several sacred sites of Nandikṣetra, are given at great length in the *Nīlamata*, 1049 sqq.

Tīrthas of *Nandikṣetra* :

The lake which lies at the foot of the north-eastern glacier. at a level of over 13,000 feet, is looked upon as the true source of the Kaśmīr Gaṅgā or Sind River, and is hence known as Uttaragangā, or popularly *Gangabal.*[13] It is the final goal of the great 'Haramukuṭagaṅgā' pilgrimage which takes place annually in the month of Bhādrapada, and is attended by thousands of pilgrims. The bones of those who have died during the year, are on that occasion deposited in the sacred waters.

A short distance below this lake is another also fed by a glacier, and now known as *Nund-*

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[12] Owing to this superstition I had great difficulty in inducing any of my Kaśmīrī Coolies (Muhammadans!) to accompany me on the ascent made to the Peaks in September, 1894. My Brahman friends could not give credence to my having reached the summit. According to their opinion the very fact of my having reached the Peak was a sufficient froof of this not having been Haramukuṭa. An argument as simple as incontrovertible to the orthodox mind.

[13] See note i. 57. Another name often used in the Nīlamata and other texts is *Uttaramānasa* ; see note iii. 448.

kol. Its old name, Kālodaka, or Nandisaras, is derived from a legend which makes the lake the joint habitation of both Kāla, i. e. Śiva, and of his faithful attendant *Nandin*. From the latter the whole collection of sacred sites takes the rame of NANDIKṢETRA by which Kalhaṇa usually designates it.[14]

Tirtha of *Bhūteśvara* :

In the valley of the Kānkᵃnai stream, Skr. Kanakavāhinī, which issues from these lakes, there lies the sacred site of Śiva-Bhūteśvara, now *Buth'śēr*. It is closely connected with the legends of Mount Haramukuṭa, and often mentioned in the Rājatarańgińī.[15] A series of interesting temple ruins marks the importance of this Tīrtha and that of the ancient *Jyeṣṭheśvara* shrine which immediately adjoins it.[16] Bhūteśvara is passed by the pilgrims on their way back from the sacred lakes, while on their way up they reach the latter by another route, passing the high ridge known as BHARATAGIRI and the smaller lake of BRAHMASARAS.

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[14] See note i. 36.

[15] See regarding the history and remains of *Bhūteśvara*, notes i. 107 ; v. 55. The Tirtha was rich enough to attract a special expedition of marauding hillmen in Kalhaṇa's time ; see viii 2756.

[16] See note i. 113.

From the Gaṅgā lake a track passable for ponies leads over the Satsaran Pass to Tilél, a Dard district on the Kiṣangaṅgā. It is probably the route by which King Harṣa's rebel brother Vijayamalla escaped from Lahara (Lār) to the Darad territory.[17]

Range east of Haramukuṭa :

58. Eastwards from the Haramukuṭa Peaks the range does not overlook on the south the main Valley of Kaśmīr, but that of the Sind River. The general level of the summits rises, and glaciers of fair size become frequent on their northern slopes. Close to the head of the Sind Valley the range we have been so far following joins on to the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nangā Parvat in a south-easterly direction to the Nunkun Peaks in Sūru.[18] A few miles south of this junction we arrive at a gap in the mountains which forms the lowest

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[17] See vii. 911.

[18] Compare regarding this great range which may fitly be called the main range of the mountain system around Kaśmīr, Drew, *Jummoo*, pp. 194 sqq.

watershed between the Indus and the Vitastā basins. It is the Pass known generally by its Ladākhī name of *Zojī-Lā*. It leads at an elevation of 11,300 feet from the headwaters of the Sind to a high-level valley draining into the Drās River and hence into the Indus.

Route over Zojī-Lā :

The route leading over the Zojī-Lā undoubtedly has been already in ancient times a most important thoroughfare. It connects Kaśmīr with Ladākh and thence with Tibet and China. Here, too, the natural watershed has in old as in modern times been also the ethnic boundary. Beyond the Pass begins the land of the *Bhauṭṭas* or *Bhuṭṭas*, as the Tibetan inhabitants of the Indus region are uniformly designated in our Kaśmīrian texts (modern Kś. *Buṭₐ*).[19]

Ou-k'ong is the first who refers distinctly to this route when speaking of the road which leads through the 'gate in the east' to Tou-fan or Tibet. Kalhaṇa has scarcely occasion to refer to it as the regions beyond lay quite outside the range of the political power of the later Kaśmīrian kings. He probably means, however, the Zojī-Lā when mentioning the 'route of the *Bhuṭṭa*-land' (Bhuṭṭarāṣṭrādhvan) by which the Darads offered to pass the pretender Bhoja into Kaśmīr, while the more direct routes from their own territory were closed by the winter.[20] An easy pass connects Tilēl at the head of the Kiṣangaṅgā with the Drās territory to the east. From there Bhoja could then have entered Kaśmīr *via* the Zojī-Lā.

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[19] Compare note i. 312-316.

This Pass, the ancient name of which is not known to us, has more than once witnessed successful invasions of Kaśmīr. Through it came, early in the fourteenth century, the Turk (?) Ḍulca and the Bhauṭṭa Riñcana, whose usurpation led to the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley.[21] About two centuries later Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, with his small Mughal force, successfully fought here his entrance into Kaśmīr (A.D. 1532). The account he gives of this exploit in his Tārīkh-i Rashīdī is, as we shall see, not without topographical interest.[22]

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[20] Compare viii. 2887.

[21] See *Jonar*. 142 sqq., and for the stratagem by which Riñcana forced his way into Lahara (*Lār*), 165 sqq. The *Laharakoṭṭa* mentioned in the last passage probably represents the old watch-station of this route, but its position is uncertain.

59. A high peak situated about ten miles east-south-east of the Zojī-Lā, marks the point where the range, forming the eastern boundary of Kaśmīr, branches off from the main chain. This range runs almost due south until it reaches the southernmost headwaters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and at the Bānᵃhāl Pass joins on to the Pīr Pantsāl range.

Through this range lead routes connecting Kaśmīr with the Maḍivāḍvan Valley in the east which drains into the Cināb (Candrabhāgā), and with Kaṣṭᵃwār, the ancient Kāṣṭavāṭa, on the Cināb itself. Both these valleys are confined, difficult of access, and scantily populated. They have hence never played an important part either in the foreign relations or trade of Kaśmīr. On this account our notices regarding the old topography of the dividing range are extremely meagre.

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[22] See *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. by Messrs. Elias and Ross, pp. 423 sqq., and below, § 181

Tīrtha of *Amareśvara* (Amarnāth):

At its northern end and close to the great snowy peak already mentioned, is the Tīrtha of AMARES'VARA or Amaranātha, known by its Kś. name as *Ambarnāth*. Together with the sacred Gaṅgā-lake on Mount Haramukuṭa, it is now the most popular of Kaśmīrian Pilgrimage places. Its Yātrā in the month of Śrāvaṇa attracts many thousands of pilgrims, not only from Kaśmīr, but from all parts of India[23] Their goal is a cave situated at a considerable altitude and formed by a huge fissure on the south side of a snowy peak, 17,300 feet high (marked 'Ambarnath' on map). In this cave there is a large block of transparent ice formed by the freezing of the water which oozes from the rock. It is worshipped as a self-created (svayaṁbhū) Liṅga and is considered the embodiment of Śiva Amareśvara.

Judging from the scanty references made to this Tīrtha in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Nīlamata, it appears doubtful whether it could have enjoyed in old times quite such great celebrity as now. But Jonarāja already relates a visit to this sacred site paid by Sultān Zainu-l-‘ābidīn,[24] and in the Māhātmya literature Amareśvara receives its due share of attention. The pilgrims' route described in great detail by the Amaranāthamāhātmya ascends the eastern branch of the Lidᵊr or Ledarī.

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[23] See for the old notices of the Tīrtha, note i 267; for a description of the modern pilgrimage, VIGNE, *Travels* ii. pp. 10 sqq., and BATES, *Gazetteer*, pp. 121 aq.

There the lake of the Nāga SUŚRAVAS, now known as Suśramnāg or (with a popular etymology) as Śeṣanāg, is visited. It lies at the north foot of a great glacier descending from the Kohenhār Peak In this lake and a small rock-bound inlet of it called JĀMĀTṚNĀGA (Zāmᵊturⁱ Nāg) the local legend, related by Kalhaṇa, i. 267 sqq., and connected with the ancient site of Narapura, has placed the habitation of the Nāga Suśravas and his son-in-law.[25]

The route then crosses a high pass, known as Vāvᵊjan (Skr. *Vāyuvarjana* in the Māhātmya), into a high-level valley drained by five streams which bear the joint designation of PANCATARANGINI. From there the pilgrims toil up a lofty spur to the north-east and descend into the narrow gloomy valley which lies at the foot of the Ambarnāth Peak. It is watered by a stream (Amarāvatī) which comes from the glacier of the still higher peak to the east. Joining the Pañcataraṅgiṇī it flows through an inaccessible gorge down to the head of the Sind valley near Bāltal.

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[24] Compare *Jonar.* (Bombay ed.), 1233 sqq.

[25] Compare note i. 267.

Mountains between Sind and Vitastā :

60. Connected with the eastern range is a mass of mountains, which, it will be covenient to mention here, though it does not form part of the mountain-barriers of Kaśmīr. It fills the great triangular space which lies between the Sind Valley and the range in the east we have just noticed, the level ground along the right bank of the Vitastā forming as it were the base. This mass of mountains branches off from the eastern ridge between the Kohenhār and Ambarnāth Peaks. Trending westwards it soon culminates in the conspicuous pinnacle of Mount Gāśᵊbrār (map 'Kolahoi'), close on 18,000 feet in height. From this conspicuous mountain numerous spurs radiate with glaciers in their topmost hollows.

The highest of these ridges runs for about thirty miles along the Sind Valley, of which it forms the southern side. A high cross-spur, now known as Dūrün Nār, which descends to the north towards Sunᵃmarg, is probably identical with Mount DUDHAVANA, the scene of a siege related in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[26] The extremity of this ridge in the west forms the amphitheatre of bold hills which encircle the Ḍal lake and Śrīnagar on the north. Here we have Mount MAHADEVA, which is much frequented as a Tīrtha.[27]

Facing it from the south is the rocky spur which lines the eastern shores of the Ḍal. It bore in old days the name of S'RIDVARA,[28] and is the site of a series of ancient pilgrimage places, such as Sureśvarī, Tripureśvara, Harṣeśvara, and Jyeṣṭheśvara, which will be discussed below The extreme offshoot of this spur is the 'hill of Gopa' (*Gopādri*), the present Takht-i Sulaimān, which is so conspicuous a feature in the landscape of Śrīnagar.

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[26] See note viii. 595, and below, † 131.

[27] It is mentioned in the *Nīlamata*, 1324, and frequently in the *Śarvāvatāra*.

[28] See note viii. 2422.

Other spurs descending into the Vale further east form successively the semicircular side-valleys containing the Parga*ṇ*as of Vihī and Vular.

Range towards Cināb:

We now return once more to the eastern range. South of the Kohenhār Peak which is still over 17,000 feet, its summit-ridge gets gradually lower. Of the *Margan* Pass which crosses the range into Ma*ḍ*ivā*ḍ*van I can find no old mention. Still further south we come to the *Marbal* Pass, 11,500 feet, which forms the usual route towards Kaṣṭᵃvār. This territory, which is now partially inhabited by Kaśmīrīs, is mentioned as an independent hill-state by Kalha*ṇ*a.[29]

The valley into which the route descends immediately after crossing the Marbal Pass, is known now as *Khaiśāl.* It is once mentioned as *Khaśālī* by Kalha*ṇ*a, and more frequently referred to in the last Chronicle by the name of KHASALAYA.[30] From the latter source we learn that it was inhabited by Khaśas, from whose occupation it may have derived its name. Thus we note here once more in the east the coincidence of the ethnic boundary with the natural water-shed.

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[29] Compare regarding the old *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*, note vii. 588-590, where also the reference in the later Chronicles are given.

[30] Compare note vii. 399.

SECTION V—UPPER COURSE OF THE VITASTĀ

61. We have now completed the circuit of the great mountain-barriers which enclose the Kaśmīr Valley, and can turn our attention to its interior. This is naturally divided into two great parts. One comprises the plain formed by the alluvium of the Vitasta and its main tributaries; the other consists of plateaus or Karewas elevated above the river flats and largely caused by old lacustrine deposits. We shall first notice the alluvial plain and the river-system which has created it.

Name of *Vitastā*:

The great river which is the recipient of the whole drainage of the country is now known to Kaśmirīs by the name of *Vyath.* This modern designation is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient Sanskrit VITASTĀ which we meet already among the river names of the Rigveda.[1] The intermediary Prakrit form *Vidastā* underlies the Hydasdes of the Greeks in which we note, as so frequently in Greek renderings of foreign names, the modifying action of popular etymology.[2] In Ptolemy's Bydaspes we have another rendering which, though later in date, yet approaches closer to the sound of the Indian original. The name *Jehlam* which is now borne by the Vitastā in its course through the Panjāb, is wholly unknown to the genuine usage of Kaśmīr. It is apparently of Muhammadan origin and has been brought to Kaśmīr only by Europeans and other foreigners.[3]

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[1] The line of phonetic development may be roughly represented as a Skr. *Vidastā* > Pr. **Vidastā* > Ap. **Vi[h]ath* > Kś. **Vyath.*—For *Vitastā*; comp. Ṛ.V. x. 75, 5.

The name Vitastā is still well known to Kaśmīr Brahmans from the Māhātmyas and similar texts, and currently used by them. The form 'Vedasta' which Drew and after him other writers give as the old name of the river, "still used by those who follow Sanskrit literature," is due to some error of hearing. It is curious to meet a similar form *Vidastā* in the transcription of the Chinese Annals of the eighth century; see my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, p. 31.

[2] The ending in the form *Hydasdes* is undoubtedly due to the influence of the numerous Persian names known to the Greeks which end in (Old Persian *aspa*). For the rendering of initial *Vi* by 'Y, compare *Vishtāspa* *Viñda[t]farna*, etc.

Ptolemy's *Bi*-for *Vi*-is the most exact phonetic reproduction possible in Greek characters It is evident from Ptolemy's Panjāb river names that he did not take his nomenclature directly or indirectly form the historians of Alexander, Zaradros, Bibasis, Sandabal; these all represent unsophisticated attempts to reproduce in sound the genuine Indian forms. The same cannot be said of the names given by Arrian, Pliny, etc.

The river to which the name Vitastā or Vyath is properly applied, is first formed by the meeting of the several streams which drain the south-eastern portion of the Valley. This meeting takes place in the plain close to the present town of Anantnāg or Islāmābād. But sacred tradition has not failed to trace the holiest of Kaśmīr rivers to a more specific source

Legendary origin of Vitastā :

An ancient legend, related at length in the Nīlamata and reproduced by the author of the Haracaritacintāmaṇi,[4] represents the Vitastā as a manifestation of Śiva's consort Pārvatī.

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[3] Alberūnī already knows the name *Jailam*; see above, † 14.

Śrīvara, when relating an expedition of Sultān Ḥaidar Shāh into the Panjāb, sanskritizes this name into *Jyalami* ; see ii. 15?.

[4] See *Nīlamata*, 238 sqq.; *Haracar.* xii. 2-34.

After Kaśmīr had been created, Śiva, at the request of Kaśyapa, prevailed upon the goddess to show herself in the land in the shape of a river, in order to purify its inhabitants from the sinful contact with the Piśācas. The goddess thereupon assumed the form of a river in the underworld and asked her consort to make an opening by which she might come to the surface. This he did by striking the ground near the habitation of the Nīlanāga, with the point of his trident (*śūla*). Through the fissure thus made, which measured one *vitasti* or span, the river gushed forth, receiving on account of this origin the name *Vitastā*.

The spring basin where the goddess first appeared was known by the several designations of *Nīlakuṇḍa*, *Śūlaghāta* ('spear-thrust'), or simply *Vitastā*.[5] It is clear that the spring meant is the famous Nīlanāga, near the village of Vērnāg, in the S̲h̲āhābad Pargaṇa. It is a magnificent fountain which amply deserves the honour of being thus counted the traditional source of the great river.[6]

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[5] See *Nīlamata*, 1290; *Haracar*. xii. 17.

[6] Compare for the Nīlanāga and its round spring-basin (*kuṇḍa*), note i. 28.

The legend makes Pārvatī-Vitastā subsequently disappear again from fear of defilement by the touch of sinful men. When brought to light a second time by Kaśyapa's prayer the goddess issued from the Nāga of *Pañcahasta.* In this locality we easily recognize the present village of Pānzath, situated in the Div'sar Pargaṇa and boasting of a fine spring which is still visited by the pious of the neighbourhood.[7] After another disappearance the goddess came forth a third time at *Narasiṁhāśrama.* This place I am unable to trace with certainty Finally the goddess was induced to abide permanently in the land when Kaśyapa had secured for her the company of other goddesses, who also embodied themselves in Kaśmīr streams, like Lakṣmī in the Viśokā, Gaṅgā in the Sindhu, etc.

Another version of the legend which, however, seems of less ancient date, seeks the place of the Vitastā's second appearance in the spring of the modern *Vith' vutur*, a small village situated about one mile to the north-west of Vērnāg.[8] The place is known by the name of *Vitastātra* to Kalhaṇa who mentions Stūpas erected there by King Aśoka.[9] This notice cartainly seems to indicate some sacred character attaching to the spot. Yet Kalhaṇa's direct mention of the Nīlakuṇḍa as the birthplace of the Vitastā leaves no doubt as to where the tradition prevalent in his own time placed the source of the sacred river.[10]

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[7] Compare note v. 24.

[8] This version is found in the Vitastāmāhātmya.

Headwaters of the Vitastā :

62. The streams which unite close to Anantn^{a}g and there form the true Vitastā river, are the Sāndran, the Bringī, Ār° path, and Lid^{a}r. Of these the first and southernmost drains the Shāhābād (anciently Vēr)

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ii. 37 sqq., which calls the place *Vitastāvartikā* ; see also VIGNE, i. 335.

[9] See note i. 102. It is possible that Vitastātra was in old times the village nearest to the Nīlanāga, and hence participated in the holiness of the Tīrtha.

[10] i. 28 —I am unable to account for the mention made in the *Mahābh.* iii. lxxxii. 90, of the Takṣaka Nāga in Kaśmīr as the Vitastā, i.e. its source. No such distinction is claimed for the well-known Takṣaka spring near Zevan (Jayavana); see Rājat. i. 220. The author of the *Tīrthayātrā* in the Mahābh., shows no accurate knowledge of Kaśmīr, and seems to have made a mistake here.

Pargaṇa and receives the water of the sacred springs mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Its old name I am unable to trace with any certainty.

The next affluent, the *Bringī*, comes from the side-valley which forms the Pargaṇa of the same name. The ancient name of the stream is unknown, the modern Vitastāmāhātmya which gives it as *Bhṛṅgī*, being but a doubtful authority. The Bringī, too, is fed by the water of some well-known Nāgas, among which the famous Trisaṁdhyā fountain and the springs of Ardhanārīśvara (Nāṛu) will be specially mentioned below.

The Arᵃpath which comes from the north-east, is mentioned repeatedly in the Nīlamata by its ancient name of HARSAPATHA.[11] The valley it drains is known as the Kothēr Pargaṇa, and takes its name from the sacred tank of *Kapaṭeśvara*. At the western end of the spur, on the slope of which this Tīrtha is situated, issue the magnificent springs of Achᵃbal (Akṣavāla). They form a small stream by themselves, which flows into the Harṣapath to

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[11] See *Nīlamata*, 232. 1299, etc.

A short distance below the village of Khanᵃbal (map 'Kanbal'), where the three streams hitherto mentioned unite, their waters are joined from the north by those of Lidᵃr. This river, the ancient LEDAKI,[12] receives a number of glacier-fed streams draining the high range towards the upper Sind Valley. It is hence in volume more considerable than any of the previously-named affluents. The Ledarī spreads in several branches through the wide valley forming the Pragaṇas ef Dachünpor and Khovurpor. In old days a canal constructed on the hillside to the east carried the water of Ledarī, and with it fertility, to the barren plateau of Mārtāṇḍa or Maṭan.[13]

Course of Vitastā in alluvial plain :

63. At Khanᵃbal the Vitastā becomes navigable and continues so through its whole course through the Valley. At the same point the great flat plain begins which stretches on both sides of the river down to Bārāmūla in the north-west. In its course to the Volur lake, a direct distance of about fifty-four miles, the river falls only some 220 feet,[14] and the slope in the general level of the plain is equally gentle. The bed of the river lies everywhere in alluvial soil, which results from the deposition of sediment at flood times when the river overflows its banks. Down to Śrīnagar the river keeps in a single bed and its islands are but small, in fact mere temporary sand-banks. The course is in parts very winding ; but as far as we can judge from the position of the old sites along the river, no great changes are in historical times likely to have taken place in this portion of its course.

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[12] See i. 87.

[13] The construction of this canal by Zainu-l-'ābidīn
cribed at length by *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 1232-60.
robable that there existed earlier irrigation
the same plateau. See belew, † 111.

Floods of river :

When the river is low as during the winter, the banks rise on an average about fifteen feet above the water. But in the spring when the snow melts, the great volume of water brought down from the mountains rises to the top of the banks and often overflows it. Dangerous floods may also follow long and heavy summer rains, and sometimes cause immense damage to the crops through a great portion of the cultivated area of the valley.[15]

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[14] See DREW, *Jammoo*, p. 163.

Such floods and the famines which are likely to follow, were a danger well known in old times already, and are more than once mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[16] Against them the villages and river-side towns have always endeavoured to protect themselves by artificially raising the banks. The allusions found in the Chronicle suffice to show that the construction of embankments (*setu*, now *s°th*), with the accompanying system of floodgates closing lateral drainage channels, has existed since ancient times.[17] One great regulation scheme, which was directly designed to diminish these risks, and of which we possess a detailed historical account, we shall have special occasion to discuss below. The equally elaborate system by which water was secured for the irrigation of the otherwise dry alluvial flats along the river, will also be specially noticed.

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[15] Compare for data as to modern floods, LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 205 sqq. The view set forth elsewhere, that the danger of floods has been materially increased since the Hindu rule by changes in the construction of Śrinagar, is not borne out by the evidence of the historical topography of the city. The left bank of the river, e. g. was built over already in the Hindu times; the dyke closing the Ḍal to the floods of the river existed already since Pravarasena's time, etc. A far more serious cause of danger lies in the gradual silting up of the Volur, which acts as the great flood-reservoir of Kaśmīr, and in the constant reclamation of land going on in the marshes around it.

[16] See vii. 1219; viii. 2449, 2786; also vii. 1624; viii. 1417, 1422; *Jonar.* 403 sqq.

Importance of river-communication :

The navigable waters of the Vitastā have from ancient times to the present day formed the most important highway of Kaśmīr. The value of the river and of the numerous canals, lakes, and streams which are also accessible to boats, for the development of internal trade and traffic can hardly be over-estimated. Until a couple of years ago there were nowhere in Kaśmīr, not even in the flatest parts of the Valley, roads fit for wheeled traffic. Carriages were practically things unknown to the population bred in the valley. As long as communication with the outer world was restricted to difficult bridle-paths or tracks passable only to load-carrying coolies, the construction of such roads would have been, in fact, of very slight advantage. The importance of river-traffic in Kaśmīr may be estimated from the fact that the number of boatmen engaged in it (and their families) amounted, according to the census of 1891, to nearly 34,000.[18] That boats were in old days, just as up to the present time, the ordinary means of travel in the Valley is shown by the frequent references to river journeys in the Chronicles.[19]

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[17] See i. 159 ; iii. 483 ; v 91, 103, 120 ; viii. 2380, etc. ; *Jonar.* 404, 887 ; *Śrīv.* iii. 191 sq., etc.

Equally eloquent testimony to the historical importance of river navigation in Kaśmīr is borne by the position of the ancient sites. We shall see that all the towns which from time to time were the capitals of the country, were built on the banks of the Vitastā, and that the great majority of other important places of ancient date were similarly situated. It is certain that then as now all produce of the country was brought to the great centres by water. Villages even when situated at a considerable distance, had, no doubt, just as at the present day, their regular landing-places

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[18] Compare regarding the *Hānj'i* of Kaśmīr LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 313 ; also note v. 101.

[19] See v. 84 ; vii. 347, 714, 1628, etc.

(Kś. *yārᵃbal*) on the river or the nearest navigable waterway. Kalhaṇa's description of the semi-legendary city of Narapura shows how closely the busy "coming and going of ships" was connected in the Kaśmīrian mind with the splendour of a large town.[20]

64. After these general remarks we may now proceed to follow the Vitastā's course through the Valley noticing its tributaries in due order as we reach the confluences.

Below Khanᵃbal[21] the river receives in succession the several branches of the Ledarī and then passes the ancient town and Tīrtha of Vijayeśvara, the present Vijᵃ brōr. About a mile lower down, its course lies between high alluvial plateaus or Karēwas. One on the left bank, the Tsakᵃdar Uḍar, will be noticed below as one of the most ancient sites of the Valley (Cakradhara).

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[20] See i. 201 sq.

[21] According to a gloss on the Nīlamata, 1307, Khan'abal, the port, so to say, of Anantnāg, corresponds to the Khaṇḍapuccha Nāga of that text. This Nāga is elsewhere mentioned, but I have no distinct evidence for its identification.

The Gambhīrā :

About three miles further down and not far from the village of Marhōm (the old Maḍavāśrama), the Vitastā is joined by the Veśau and Rembyārᵃ rivers, which meet a short distance above their common confluence with the Vitastā. This river junction is known to the Māhātmyas by the name of GAMBHIRASAMGAMA ('the deep confluence') and is still visited as a Tirtha.[22] The short united course of the Veśau and Rembyārᵃ bears the old name of GAMBHIRA and is referred to under this designation repeatedly by Kalhaṇa. The Gambhīrā is too deep to be forded at any time of the year, and being on the route from Vijayeśvara to Śrinagar is of military importance. It was twice the scene of decisive actions King Sussala's army on its retreat over the Gambhīrā (A. D. 1122) suffered a complete rout. Six years later Sujji, his son's general, gained an equally signal victory by forcing the passage in the face of a rebel army.[23]

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[22] See note iv. 80. *Junctions* of rivers and streams (*samgamas*) are everywhere in India favourite places for Tīrthas.

[23] See viii. 1063 sqq., 1497 sqq.

The Viśokā :

The Veśau, frequently mentioned by its ancient name of VISOKĀ in the Chronicles, Nīlamata, and other texts, is a considerable river.[24] It receives all the streams coming from the northern slope of the Pīr Pantsāl Range between the Sidau and Bānᵊhāl Passes. Its traditional source is placed in the Kramasaras or Konsᵊr Nāg Lake below the Peak of Naubandhana. The Nīlamata, i. 271 sqq., relates a legend which indentifies the Viśokā with Lakṣmī and accounts for its name (' free from pain'). The fine waterfall which is formed by the stream of the Konsᵊr Nāg not far from the village of Sidau, is now known as *Ahrᵊbal.* The Nīlamata calls it *Akhor bila,* 'the mouse-hole,' which may possibly be the origin of the modern name.[25] As soon as the Viśokā emerges from the mountains, numerous irrigation canals are drawn from it which overspread the whole of the old Parganas of Karāla (Āḍᵊvin) and Devasaras (Divᵊsar).

One of these canals is the *Sunᵊmanᵊkul* which is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī by its ancient name, SUVARNAMANIKULYA.[26] If the story of its construction by King Suvarṇa, reproduced from Padmamihira, could be trusted, we should have to ascribe to this canal a high antiquity. It leaves the Viśokā near the village shown as 'Largoo' on the map, and rejoins it near the village of Aḍᵃ.vin (map 'Arwin'). Another old canal called *Nāndī* (not shown on the map) leaves the Viśokā near Kaimuh, the ancient Katīmuṣa, and irrigates the land between the lower course of this river and the Vitastā. Its name is, perhaps, connected with that of the village *Nandaka* which is referred to in connection with Avantivarman's drainage operations.[27] The Viśokā is navigable upto Kaimuh.

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[24] See note iv. 5.

[25] Compare *Nīlamata*, 271 sqq., and for *Akhor bila,* 233.

The Ramaṇyāṭavī :

The *Rembyārᵃ* which joins the Viśokā a little above Gambhīrasaṁgama, we have met already before as the river uniting the streams from the Pīr Pantsāl and Rūprī Passes. Kalhaṇa mentions it by its ancient name

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[26] See i. 97.

[27] See note v. 85.

RAMANYATAVI when relating the legend of the burned city of Narapura.[28] The Rembyārᵊ after leaving the mountains below Hūrᵊpor flows divided in many channels within a wide and mostly dry bed of rubble and boulders. The strip of stony waste along the river attains a width of over two miles near the village of T̲s̲ūran (map 'Charran').

The local legend referred to attributes the creation of this waste to the Nāgī Ramaṇyā. She had come down from the mountains, carrying masses of stone, to assist her brother, the Suśravas Nāga, in the destruction of Narapura. When she learnt that he had already completed this task, she dropped the stones, 'more than a Yojana,' from the site of the doomed city. The distance indicated corresponds exactly to that of the village of Litᵃr where the Rembyārᵊ leaves behind its stony bed and passes into alluvial soil. The village land for five Yojanas above that place was buried by the mighty boulders which Ramaṇyā left along her trail. Similar tales are well known to European alpine folklore.

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[28] See note i. 263-265.

The Vitastā near Śrīnagar :

65. Below Gambhīrasaṁgama the Vitastā receives from the right the stream which drains the ancient district of *Holaḍā*, the present Vular. It then passes close to the foot of the Vastᵊrvan spur near the old town of Avantipura. No important stream joins the river from the right until we reach Śrīnagar. The affluents on the left, like the Rāmuṣ, are also of small volume. Some do not reach the river direct, but end in low marshes communicating with the latter only by gates made in the river-embankments. For the streams we have next to notice, a reference to the special map of Ancient Śrīnagar is necessary.

The Mahāsarit :

Just before we reach the area of the city proper, the Vitastā is joind by a stream which drains the lake to the east of the city. This lake, known as *Ḍal* (Skr. *Ḍala*), is fed by plentiful springs and by streams which reach it from the north. Its surplus waters flow out towards the Vitastā by a canal which is now called T̲s*ūṇṭ*h Kul, but in ancient times bore the name of MAHASARIT.[29] This canal passes through an ancient embankment (*setu*) which protects the city as well as the low shores of the Ḍal from floods of the river and already figures in the traditional account of the foundation of Śrīnagar. The position of the gate which closes the outflow of the Mahāsarit is marked on the map by the entry 'Durgāgalikā.'

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[29] For the identification of the T̲sūṇṭh Kul and the

A small channel from the river—whether artificial or natural, cannot be ascertained now—joins the Mahāsarit at this very point and turns the ground between it and the river into an island. This is now known by the name of Māyᵃsum, drived from the ancient MAKSIKASVAMIN. We shall have to refer to it again in our account of the topography of Śrīnagar. From Durgāgalikā downwards the Mahāsarit or T̲s̲ūṇṭh Kul was in old times the south-eastern boundry for that part of Śrīnagar which lies on the right bank of the Vitastā. Being a natural line of defence it is frequently

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Mār canal in the city with the *Mahāsarit*, my note on Rājat. iii. 339-349, should be consulted. In addition to the evidence there recorded, it should be noted that the Mahāsarit is twice mentioned by its old name also in the *Śarvāvatāra*, iii. 74 ; iv. 129 sq.

referred to in the narrative of the various sieges of the capital.[30]

The confluence of the Mahāsarit and Vitastā, which is just opposite to the modern palace, the Shērgaṛhi, has been a Tīrtha from early times and is mentioned by its correct name in Maṅkha's description of Kaśmīr.[31] Śrīvara refers to it by a more modern name, MARISAMGAMA. Here *Mārī* is an evident adaptation from the Kś. from *Mār.*[32] The latter name, itself a derivative of Mahāsarit is applied at the present day to another branch of the Ḍal outflow. This turning to the west passes through the marsh known as Brār'nambal, Sks. BHATTARANADVALA, and then enters the city.

This canal is of considerable importance for the internal traffic of the city as it opens a convenient waterway to the *Ḍ*al and greatly facilitates the transport of its manifold produce. After passing behind the whole of the city quarters on the riverbank the Mār issues near the quarter of Narvor (Skr. *Naḍavana*) into the marshes of the Anchār. Through the latter a connection is thus secured with the Sind river delta. This extension of the Mār to the west seems, however, of later date, as *Ś*rīvara attributes the construction of a navigable channel towards the Sind to Zainu-l-'ābidīn.[88]

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[30] See viii. 733, 753, 3131.

[31] See *Śrīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 24 (*Mahāsaridvitastayoḥ samgamḥ*). Here, too, as in former translations of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, *Mahāsarit* has been wrongly taken as an ordinary noun and explained as 'great river.'

[32] The term *Mārī* is also elsewhere used in the later Chronicles and the Māhātmyas ; comp. e.g. *Śrīv.* i. 442 ; iv. 298 ; Fourth Chron. 145, etc.

[33] See *Śrīv.* i. 440 sq.

The Ḍal Lake :

66. The lake which supplies the water of the Mahāsarit, is in some respects one of the most favoured spots of the whole Valley. Its limped water, the imposing aspect of the mountain amphitheatre which encloses it on three sides, and the charming gardens and orchards around it have made the *Ḍ*al justly famous.

The *Ḍ*al measures about four miles in length and two and a half in width where it is broadest. Its depth nowhere exceeds thirty feet, and in most parts it is far more shallow. At its southern end it is fringed by lagoons, and a great portion of it is covered by the famous floating gardens. Notwithstanding the superabundance of water-plants and vegetable matter, the water everywhere retains an admirable clearness and freshness. This is no doubt, due to the ampleness of the springs which rise within the lake. Though we find no direct mention of the lake in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and though it does not claim any particular sanctity, there is no want around its shores of ancient and holy sites.

Name of *Dala*:

The earliest reference to the lake itself occurs in the Chronicle of Śrīvara who describes at length how King Zainu-l-ābidīn diverted himself on the lake and adorned its vicinity.[34] Śrīvara calls the lake *Ḍ*ALA, while the few Māhātmyas which condescend to mention it use the form Dala.[35] He also mentions the two small artificial islands called *Laṅkā* and now distinguished as Rup^alānk and *Sun^alānk* ('the Silver Laṅkā,' and the 'Golden Laṅkā').

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[34] *Śrīv*. i. 418 sqq.

[35] See e.g. *Vitastāmāh*. xxi. 39.

Different names are given to several distinct portions of the lake. But of these only HASTAVALIKA, the present Astᵃ vol, can be traced in the Chronicles.

The sacred sites of Gopādri, Jyeṣṭheśvara, Thedā, Sureśvarī, etc., with their numerous Nāgas line the eastern shores of the Ḍal. They will be mentioned below in the description of the environs of the capital. The well-known gardens of S̲h̲ālimār, Nis̲h̲āt, and Nasīm are creations of the Mug̲h̲al Emperors who did much to enhance the natural beauties of the lake.

Besides the springs of the lake itself the latter is fed also by a stream which comes from the Mār-sar lake high up in the mountains to the east. The old name of this stream, marked 'Arrah' on the map, is uncertain. The Śarvāvatāra seems to extend to it the name *Mahāsarit.*[36] In its lower course where it approaches the north shore of the Ḍal, it now bears the name of Tēlbal Nāla (stream). An earlier form is furnished by Śrīvara who calls the stream at this point, by the name of TILAPRASTHA ; the latter is also found in several Māhātmyas[37]

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[36] See *Śarvāv.* iii. 75 ; iv. 129.

The Vitastā in Śrīnagara :

67. From the junction with the Mahāsarit downwards the Vitastā flows for over three miles between almost unbroken lines of houses raised high above the water on stone embankments. The latter consist nowadays chiefly of large blocks of stone which belonged to ancient temples and other structures of pre-Muhammadan date. Judging from their size and careful carving we can well picture to our minds the splendid appearance which the river-banks must have here presented in bygone days.

The river within the city flows first in one long reach due north. Near the Fourth Bridge in the heart of the city, it makes a great bend and turns to the south-west. A canal which leaves the left bank of the river between the Sh̠ērgaṛhi palace and the quarter of Kāthil (Kāṣṭhīla), and rejoins the river near the last bridge, allows boats to cut this great bend. It now bears the name Kuṭᵃkul derived from the ancient designation of KṢIPTIKĀKULYĀ.[38]

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[37] See *Śrīv*. i 421 ; *Śarvāv*. iv., etc.

The Kṣiptikā :

The Kṣiptikā is often mentioned in the later portions of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle which relate the sieges of Śrīnagar witnessed in his own time. It forms to this day the natural line of defence for that part of the city which occupies the left riverbank, and which could be successfully attacked only by crossing the *Kṣiptikā*.[39] No information is available to us as to the origin of this canal. Judging from its position it is likely to have been a natural side channel of the river which was subsequently maintained or improved for the convenience of navigation.

The Dugdhagaṅgā :

A few hundred yards lower down the Vitastā is joined on its left bank by a considerable river now known as the *Dūdgaṅgā*, 'the milk Gaṅgā' or *Chatsᵊkul*, 'the white stream.' Its ancient name is given as DUGDHASINDHU in

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[38] Kś. *kul*<Skr. *kulya* is the ordinary term for small streams or canals.

[39] It is customary evidence of this identification, see note viii. 732.

Bilhaṇa's description of Śrīnagar.[40] The Māhātmyas know it by the name of *Śvetagaṅgā*, 'the white Gaṅgā,' to which the alternative modern designation Cha$\underline{ts}^{a}$kul exactly corresponds.[41] Its waters come from the central part of the Pā$^{\underline{ts}}$n$\underline{s}$āl Range round Mount Taṭakūṭī, its chief sources being the mountain-streams marked as 'Sangsofed' (Sangsafēd) and 'Yechara' on the map. The confluence of the Vitastā and Dudgaṅgā, opposite to the old quarter of Diddāmaṭha, is still a tīrtha of some repute and is probably alluded to already by Bilhaṇa.[42]

SECTION VI.—LOWER COURSE OF THE VITASĀ

68. Immediately below Śrīnagar we come to marshes which stretch along both sides of the river for a considerable distance. Those on the left bank of which the Hukh^{a}sar and Panz'nor Nambal are the nearest, are fed by mountain-streams of smaller volume. The marshes to the north of the river are more extensive and belong to the delta of the Sinḍ River, the greatest tributary of the Vitastā within the Valley.

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[40] *Vikram.* xviii. 7.

[41] See *Vitastām.* xx. 11, *Śvetogaṅgām*, etc. Skr. *śveta* becomes in Kś. by regular phonetic conversion *chuth*, fem. *cha*$^{\underline{ts}'}$.

The Nīlamata curiously enough does not mention the Dūdgaṅgā unless the *Kṣīranadī*, 1281, is meant for it. The latter name meaning 'the river of milk,' is given to the Dūdgaṅgā by a passage of the modern Vitastā-māhatmya, xx. 11.

[42] See *Vikram.* xviii. 22.

The Sindhu:

Our survey of the northern range of mountains has already taken us to the true headwaters of the *Sind* near the Zojī-Lā and the Amburnāth Peak. Its traditional source in the sacred Gaṅgā-lake on Mount Haramukh has also been noticed. This great river has a course of over sixty miles and drains the largest and highest portion of the mountain-chain in the north. Its ancient name, SINDU, means simply 'the river,' and is hence identical with the original designation of the Indus.[1] The

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[1] It is customary in Kaśmīr to distinguish the two rivers by giving to the Indus the designation of 'the Great Sind' (*Buḍ Sind*). This is found as '*Bṛhatsindhu*' already in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi, xii. 45.

The identity of the two river names has led to a great deal of confusion in geographical works down to the beginning of the present century. The Sind River of Kaśmīr was elevated to the rank of one of the chief sources of the Indus, or else represented as a branch of

Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions the river repeatedly, and it figures largely in the Nīlamata, Haracaritacintāmaṇi, and the Māhātmyas.[2] Everywhere it is identified with the Gaṅgā as already by Albērūnī's informant. The valley of the Sind forms the district of *Lār*, the ancient Lahara, one of the main subdivisions of Kaśmīr territory.

Marshes of Sindhu delta :

Where this valley debouches into the great Kaśmīr plain, near the village of Dudᵃhom, the old DUGDHĀŚRAMA, the river spreads out in numerous branches. These form an extensive delta, covered in its greatest portion by shallow marshes and known as *Anch'ār*. Its eastern side extends along the strip of high ground

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the great river taking its way through Kaśmīr (!). This curious error is traceable, e. g. in the map os 'L' Empire du Grand Mogol,' reproduced in Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 238, from the Paris edition of 1670, and in the map of Ancient India attached to TIEFFENTHALER, *Description de l' Inde*, 1786, p. 60. Compare HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, i. p. 330. Even WILSON, writing in 1825, says of the Kaśmīr Sind, that "it is not improbably a branch of the Indus."

[2] See note i. 57; also iv. 391; v. 97 sqq.; viii. 1129; *Jonar*. 982; *Śrīv*. iv. 110,227, etc.

which connects Śrīnagar with the foot of the spur at the mouth of the Sind Valley. The western side of the delta is marked by an alluvial plateau which continues the right or western side of the lower Sind Valley down to the river's confluence with the Vitastā. The base of the triangle is the Vitastā itself. Between Śrīnagar and this junction the Vitastā flows in a bed separated by artificial banks from the marshes on either side. The waters of the Sind after spreading over this wide delta leave it in a single channel at its western extremity, opposite to the village of Shād'pūr.

Confluence of *Vitastā* and *Sindhu :*

The confluence of the Vitastā and Sindu has from early times enjoyed exceptional sanctity as a Tīrtha. Kaśmīr tradition, as recorded already in the Nīlamata, identifies the Vitastā and Sindhu, the largest and holiest rivers of the country, with the *Yamunā* and *Gaṅgā*, respectively. Their junction represents, therefore, the Kaśmīrian equivalent of the famous Prayāga at the confluence of the great Indian rivers.

The VITASTĀSINDHUSAMGAMA is often referred to as an important Tīrtha in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the Nīlamata and numerous other texts. It is actually known by the name of Prayāga to the modern tradition and the Māhātmyas.[3] A small island built of solid masonry rises in the river-bed at the point where the waters of the two rivers mingle. It is the object of regular pilgrimages on particular Parvans throughout the year. On it stands an old Cinār tree which to the pious Kaśmīrian represents the far-famed Ficus Indica tree of the real Prayāga.

Notwithstanding the accumulated holiness of this Tīrtha there is most explicit evidence to show that its present position dates back only to about a thousand years. We owe the knowledge of this interesting fact to the detailed account which Kalhaṇa has given us of the great regulation of the Vitastā carried out under King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883). As the change in the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindu forms one of the most striking results of this regulation, Kalhaṇa's account of the latter may conveniently be noticed here. I shall restrict myself to an indication of the main facts connected with these operations, referring for all detailed evidence to Note *I* (v. 97-100).

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[3] For a detailed account of the references to the Vitastāsindhusamgama and the ancient remains near it, see Note *I*, v. 97-100, †† 14,15 ; also note iv. 391.

Suyya's regulation :

69. Kalhaṇa tells us in his opening notice that the produce of *Kaśmīr* had in earlier times been greatly restricted owing to disastrous floods, particularly from the Mahāpadma Voular lake, and the general water-locked condition of the country.[4] Drainage operations under King Lalitāditya had led to an increase of agricultural produce. **But these works** were apparently neglected under his feeble successors, and disastrous floods followed by famines became again frequent. In Avantivarman's time *Suyya*, a man of conspicuous talents but low origin, offered to remedy these troubles. Receiving the king's assent for his scheme and the necessary means, he set about regulating the course of the Vitastā with a view to a better drainage of the whole Valley. Ommitting legendary details with which evidently popular tradition has embellished Suyya's story, the course adopted was briefly the following:

The operations commenced in Kramarājya

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[4] See v. 68 sqq.

at the locality called YAKSADARA, where large "rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river-banks," obstructed the Vitastā.[5] We have already, when describing the Vitastā Valley route, referred to Yakṣadara, the present Dyārᵊgul, as a spur projecting into the river-bed some three miles below the commencement of the Bārāmūla gorge. Its rocky foot forms the first rapid of the river. By removing the obstructing rocks the level of the river was lowered. Then a stone dam was constructed across the bed of the river, and the latter thus blocked up completely for seven days. During this time "the river-bed was cleared at the bottom and stone-walls constructed to protect it against rocks which might roll down."[6] The dam was then removed and the river flowed forth with increased rapidity through the cleared passage.

I must leave it to competent engineering opinion to decide to what extent and at which point of the Bārāmūla gorge the operations so far described were practicable with the technical means of that age. What follows in

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[5] See v. 87 sqq.

[6] Compare v. 92 sq.

Kalhaṇa's account is so matter-of-fact and so accurate in topographical points, that a presumption is raised as to the previous statements also resting, partially at least, on historical facts.

Wherever inundation breaches were known to occur in times of flood, new beds were constructed for the river. One of these changes in the river-bed affected the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindu, and this is specially explained to us in v. 97-100. The topographical indications here given by Kalhaṇa are so detailed and exact that they enabled me to trace with great probability what I believe to have been the main course of the Vitastā before Suyya's regulation.

Change in confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu :

70. Kalhaṇa describes to us successively the position of the old and the new confluence relative to certain temples situated at the village of Trigramī and other points on the river-banks. Most of these structures I have been able to identify, and a close examination of the general topographical features in their neighbourhood has fully borne out the correctness of Kalhaṇa's account. The main results of my local inquiries as detailed in Note *I*,

v. 97-100, and embodied in the special large scale Map of the Confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, are briefly the following:

While the new confluence, which Kalhaṇa knew in its own time, is identical with the present junction opposite Shād^{i}pūr,[7] the old one lay about two miles to the south-east of it, between the village of Trigām and the Par^{a}spor plateau. The latter is the site of the great ruins of *Parihāsapura* first identified by me and shown on the map. Trigām marks the position of the ancient *Trigrāmī*, and a short distance south of it stands the temple ruin which I identify with the shrine of Viṣṇu *Vainyasvāmin*.

Kalhaṇa mentions this temple as the point near which "the two great rivers, the Sindhu and Vitastā, formerly met, flowing to the left and right of Trigrāmī respectively." Standing on the raised ground before the ruin and turning towards Shādā^{i}pūr, we have on our left a swamp about a quarter of a mile broad which runs north-east in the direction of Trigām.

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[7] Shād^{i}pur is a modern contraction for *Shahābuddin-pur*, the name given to the place by Sultan Shahābu-d-dīn (A. D. 1354-73) who founded it as Jonarāja, 409, tells us at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu.

In this swamp and a shallow Nāla continuing it towards Sh̲ādⁱpur, we can yet recognize the old bed of the Sindhu.

On the right we have the Badrihēl Nāla which divides the alluvial plateaus of Trigām and Parᵉspor. This Nāla is clearly marked as an old river-bed by the formation of its banks. It connects the great swamp to the east known as *Panzⁱnor Nambal* with the extensive marshes stretching west and north-west of Parᵉspor towards the Volur. It still serves regularly as an outflow for the Panzⁱnor Nambal whenever the latter is flooded from the Vitastā at times of high-water.

The old course of the rivers here briefly indicated explains the curious position of the *Nor* (map 'Noroo'). This important canal leaves the Vitastā on the left bank, just opposite to the present junction with the Sindhu, and practically continues the south-westerly course of the latter for some distance. Only about one-third of a mile of low ground divides the Nor from the end of the swamp which marks the bed of the Sindhu at the point of its old junction opposite the Vainyasvāmin ruin.

Similarly the position chosen by King

Lalitāditya for his capital *Parihāsapura* become now intelligible. The plateau of Parᵃspor which preserves its name, is now far removed from a convenient waterway such as we find invariably near the other old Kaśhmir capitals. Before Suyya's regulation, however, the Vitastā flowed as we have seen, immediately to the north of the plateau and at the very foot of the great temples erected here by King Lalitāditya.

Results of Suyya's regulation:

71. I have shown above in Note *l* (v. 97-100) that the object and result of this change of the confluence can still be traced. By forcing the Vitastā to pass north of Trigām instead of south of it, the reclamation of the marshes south of the Volur lake was greatly facilitated. The course thus given to the river carries its waters by the nearest way into that part of the Volur which by its depth and well-defined boundaries is naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus water of dangerous floods. The reclamation

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[8] Compare DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 196, for a description of these tracts and the amphibious ways of the inhabitants, who get their living as much from the water as the land around.

of land which has gone on for centuries in the low marshy tracts south of the lake,[8] could never have been undertaken if the Vitastā had been allowed to spread itself over them from the south, the direction marked by its old course

The change in the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu was thus closely connected with the general scheme of regulation and drainage. Kalha*n*a indicates this by referring immediately after the above passage to stone embankments constructed along the Vitastā for seven Yojanas (circ. forty-two miles), and the damming-in of the Volur lake.[9] On the land reclaimed new populous villages were founded. From the circular dykes which were built round these villages, they are said to have received the popular designation of *kuṇḍala* ('ring'). We actually still find two villages on the low ground near the Volur showing in their modern names the ending *kuṇḍ^{a}l*, derived from Skr. *kuṇḍala*, viz. Uts^{a}kuṇḍ^{a}l (map wrongly 'Watrkoondl') and Maru^{a} kuṇḍ^{a}l

Kalhaṇa adds that even in his own time, i.e. two and a half centuries later, there were "seen, growing on the banks of the former river-beds, old trees which bore the marks of the boat ropes fastened to them."[10] Similarly the observant Chronicler noted the old pales securing the embankments "which the rivers display when low in the autumn.[11]

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[9] See v. 103 sqq.

Position of *Jayapura* :

72. Following the course of the Vitastā below its present confluence with the Sindhu, we soon pass the village of Sambal, where the route from Śrīnagar to the north of the Volur lake and hence to the Trāg^{a}bal Pass crosses the river. Here at some distance from the left bank is the site of the ancient *Jayapura*, the capital founded by King Jayāpīḍa in the second half of the eight century.[12] It is marked by the village of And^{a}rkoṭh, situated on an island between the Sambal marsh and a branch of the canal known as Nor.

We should have some difficulty in under-standing the position chosen for a town which was intended to be a place of importance, if we did not know the great change effected in the course of the river by the subsequent regulation of Avantivarman. In King Jayāpīḍa's time one of the main branches of the Vitastā probably followed the line of the Nor in this neighbourhood. The island of Andᵃrkoṭh which forms a small alluvial plateau, was then a convenient site. This is no longer the case since the river flows to the east of Andᵃrkoṭh and at a considerable distance.

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[10] See v. 101.

[11] It is still the common belief in Kaśmīr that "no embankment on the river-side is sound unless it has a foundation of piles"; LAWRENCE, *Valley*: p. 211. Considering the peaty nature of the soil along the lower course of the river, this belief may be justified by old experience.

[12] For the identification of this site, see note v. 506.

Mānasa lake :

Close to Sambal the river passes the foot of an isolated hill, known as *Āhᵃtyung*, rising about a thousand feet above the plain. Under its shelter on the north is the small lake of *Mānasbal* which is mentioned by the name of *Mānasa* [*saras*] in the Nīlamata and by Jonarāja.[13] It is about two miles long, and occupying a rock-basin, is deeper than the other lakes of the Kaśmīr plain. It is connected with the river by a short channel and partially fed by an irrigation canal carried into it from the Sind River.[14] Its ancient name is derived from the sacred lake on Kailāsa, famous in the Purāṇas and Epics and usually located in the Mansarovar of the Tibetan highlands.

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[13] As Jonarāja, 864 sq. makes the ancient name quite certain, the latter could have safely been shown on the map. In some passages of the Nīlamata and Māhātmyas it might be doubted whether this lake, or the Uttaramānasa on Mount Haramukh is intended; see, however, *Nīlamata*, 1338, where the Mānasa lake is mentioned after the Vitastāsindhusamgama.

A short distance lower down the villages of Utsᵃkunḍᵃl and Marᵃkunḍᵃl, already referred to above, are passed on the left bank There are various indications which make it probable that in old times the Volur lake reached much closer to these villages than it does at present. Kalhaṇa's reference seems to indicate that these villages were actually reclaimed from the lake, and Jonarāja still places them on the very shore of the lake.[15] In the same way Śrīvara, speaking of the villages stretching from Samudrakoṭa,[16] the present Sudᵃrkoth, to the vicinity, of Dvārikā, near Andᵃrkoth, seems to place them along the shore of the Volur.

Passage of Vitastā into Volur :

A glance at the map shows that the land

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[14] The construction of this canal is ascribed by Jonarāja, 864 sq., to Zainu-l-ābidin.

[15] See v. 120, and *Jonar* 1230 (Bo. ed.)

[16] See *S'riv.* i. 400 sq.

on the left bank of the river below the 'Kuṇḍala' villages projects like a peninsula into the lake. It can be safely assumed that the creation of this strip of land some seven miles long, is due to the continual deposits of silt. The silting-up process is still going on in this as in other portions of the Volur where streams enter it, and is likely to reduce the expanse of the lake still further in the future.[17]

A striking proof for the gradual change thus effected is afforded by the position of the artificial island known now as *Zainᵃlānk.* It received its name (Skr. *Jainalaṅkā*) from King Zainu-l-'ābidīn who constructed it. According to Jonarāja's description it was built in the middle of the Volur, where the water was deep.[18] It is now situated in a shallow marsh close to the present embouchure of the river.

The Volur lake:

73. The great lake, with the southern

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[17] Compare DREW, p. 166, and LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p 20 The latter author is probably reproducing a popular tradition when mentioning that in King Zainu-l'ābidīn's time, the waters of the Volur stretched south to Aśam and Sambal.

[18] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1227. sqq.

shores of which we have already become acquainted, is a very important feature in the hydrographic system of Kaśmīr. It acts as a huge flood reservoir for the greatest part of the drainage of Kaśmīr and gives to the western portion of the Valley its peculiar character. Its dimensions vary in different periods owing to the low shores to the south being liable to inundation. In normal years the length of the lake may be reckoned at about twelve and its width at six miles, with an area of about seventy-eight square miles. In years of flood the lake extends to about thirteen miles in length and eight miles in width.[19] Its depth is nowhere more than about fifteen feet and is continually lessening in those parts where the streams debouch into it. Notwithstanding this slight depth, navigation on the lake often becomes dangerous when violent storms sweep over it from the mountains in the north.

The boundaries of the lake are ill-defined in the south and partly in the east ; the marshes and peaty meadows merge almost imperceptibly into its area. On the north the shores slope up towards an amphitheatre of mountains from which some rocky spurs run down to the water's edge. The fertile tract at the foot of these mountains forms the old Khūyāśrama, the modern Pargaṇa of *Khuyᵃhom.*

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[19] See LAWRENCE, p. 20.

Ancient name *Mahāpadma* :

The ancient name of the lake is MAHAPADMASARAS, derived from the Nāga *Mahāpadma*, who is located in the lake as its tutelary deity. This designation is by far the most common in the Chronicles, the Nīlamata and other old texts.[20] It is also used, as we have seen, in the description of Kaśmīr given by the Tang Annals.

The name *Ullola* from which the present Volur (*vulgo* 'Woolar') seems to be derived, is found only in one passage of Jonarāja's Chronicle and in a single modern Māhātmya.[21] Skr. *Ullola* can be interpreted as 'turbulent' or ['the lake'] with high-going waves,[22] and those who have experienced the sensation of crossing the lake with a strong wind, will readily allow the appropriateness of this designation. Yet it is impossible to dismiss altogether the suspicion that the name which seems wholly unknown to the older texts, may be only a clever adaptation of the Kaśmīrī Volur or its earlier representative. It is certainly curious that in modern Māhātmyas we meet with *Ullola* also as a name for the Vular Pargaṇa, the genuine ancient designation of which is Holaḍā.[23] Jonarāja in his commentary on Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, iii. 9, uses Ullola as a paraphrase for Mahāpadma.

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[20] For detailed references. see note iv. 593.

[21] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1227-30; *Dhyāneśvaramāh.* 30, 33.

[22] See BUHLER, *Report*, p. 9.

Legends of Mahāpadma Nāga :

74. From an early date various legends seem to have clustered around this, the greatest of Kaśmīr lakes. The Nīlamata relates at length how the lake became the habitation of the Mahāpadma Nāga.[24] Originally it was occupied by the wicked Nāga Ṣaḍaṅgula who used to carry off the women of the country. Nīla, the lord of Kaśmīr Nāgas, banished Ṣaḍaṅgula to the land of the Dārvas. The site left dry on his departure was occupied by a town called *Candrapura* under King Viśvagaśva. The Muni Durvāsas not receiving hospitable reception in this town, cursed it and foretold its destruction by water.

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[23] See *Vitastāmāh.* v. 48; *Haridrāg ṇeśamāh.*

[24] See *Nīlamata*, 976-10008, and BUHLER, *Report*, p. 10,

Destruction of *Candrapura*

When subsequently the Nāga Mahāpadma sought a refuge in Kaśmīr and asked Nīla for the allotment of a suitable habitation, he was granted permission to occupy Candrapura. The Mahāpadma Nāga thereupon approached King Viśvagaśva in the disguise of an old Brahman and asked to be allowed to settle in the town with his family. When his prayer was agreed to, he showed himself in his true form and announced to the king the approaching submersion of his city. At the Nāga's direction the king with his people emigrated and founded two Yojanas further west the new town of *Viśvagaśvapura*. The Nāga then converted the city into a lake, henceforth his and his family's dwelling-place. A recollection of this legend still lives in popular tradition, and the ruins of the doomed city are supposed to be sighted occasionally in the water.

Another legend has found a lengthy record in Kalhaṇa's narrative of King Jayāpīḍa's reign

iv. 592 sqq. The Nāga Mahāpadma being threatened with desiccation by a Dravidian sorcerer, appeared to the king in his dream and asked for protection. As a reward he promised to show a gold mine to the king. Jayāpīḍa agreed to the Nāga's prayer. Curiosity, however, induced him to let the Dravidian first try his magic on the lake. When the waters had been dried up so far that the Nāga and his dependents were seen as human-faced snakes wriggling in the mud, the king interfered and caused the lake to be restored. The Nāga, however, resented the insult and showed to the king only a rich copper ore instead of the gold mine.

With reference to a Purāṇic legend the Mahāpadma is sometimes identified with the Nāga *Kāliya* who was vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. As the foot of the god when touching the Nāga's head had made lotuses (*padma*) appear on it, Mahāpadma is treated by Kaśmīrian poets as another form of Kāliya.[25]

Minor affluents of Volur :

75. Of the streams which fall into the

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[25] Compare *Śrīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 9; *Jonar.* 933, and note on Rājat. v. 114.

Volur lake besides the Vitastā the stream of the *Baṇḍ^{a}por* Nāla is the most considerable. It drains the range between Mount Haramukh and the Trāg^{a}bal Pass and forms a small delta of its own to the north of the lake Its ancient name is MADHUMATI.[26] It is repeatedly mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī in connection with the route leading to the Dard territory, but must be distinguished from another, smaller Madhumatī which flows into the Kiṣangaṅgā near the Śāradātīrtha.

The out-flow of the waters is at the south west corner of the lake about two miles above the town of Sopūr. The latter is the ancient *Suyyapura*, founded by Suyya and commemorating his name.[27] If we may judge from the position of the town and the words used by Kalhaṇa in another passage,[28] it appears probable that the operations of Avantivarman's great engineer extended also to the riverbed on this side of the lake.

The Vitastā below the Volur:

About four miles below Sopūr the Vitastā which now flows in a winding but well-defined bed, receives its last considerable tributary within Kaśmīr. It is the Pohur which before its junction has collected the various streams draining the extreme north-west of the Valley. This portion of the country figures but little in Kalhaṇa's narrative ; hence we find in the Rājataraṅgiṇī no reference to the Pohur or any of its affluents. The old name of the river is uncertain. Jonarāja in a passage which is found only in the Bombay edition, calls this river *Pahara* ; the Māhātmyas vary between *Prahara* and *Prahāra.*[29] Of the side-streams the Māv^{u}r flowing through the Mach^{i}pūr Pargaṇa (map 'Maur') is named in the Nīlamata as *Māhurī.*[30] The name of the Hamal stream is identical with that of the Pargaṇa through which its course lies, the ancient *Śamālā.*[31]

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[26] See vii. 1179, and note vii. 1179; also viii. 2883; *Nīlamata*, 1259 sqq., 1398, etc.

[27] See note v. 118.

[28] Compare v. 104

About eighteen miles from the point where the Vitastā leaves the Volur, it reaches the entrance of the gorge of Bārāmūla. Through this defile we have already before followed the river's course. At Bārāmūla navigation ceases. After passing with a violent current the ravine immediately below the town, the river, so placid within the Valley, soon turns into a large torrent rushing down in falls and rapids.

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[29] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1150, 1152 ; *Vitastāmāh.* xxvii. 2 ; *Svayambhūmāh.*

[30] *Nīlamata,* 1322 sqq.

[31] See note vii. 159.

SECTION VII—SOIL AND CLIMATE OF THE VALLEY

76. Our survey of Kaśmīr rivers has taken us along that great flat of river alluvium which forms the lowest and most fertile part of the Valley. We must now turn to the higher ground of the vale which consists of the peculiar plateaus already alluded to.

Alluvial plateaus (*Uḍar*) :

The genuine Kaśmīrī term for these plateaus is *uḍar*, found in its Sanskrit form as *uḍḍāra* in the Chronicles. Another modern designation of Persian origin, now often used, is *karēwa*. The word *uḍḍāra* is twice found as an ending of local names in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,[1] while the later Chronicles use it frequently in designations of well-known plateaus[2]. An earlier Sanskrit term is *sūda*, originally meaning 'barren waste ground'. Kalhaṇa employs it when speaking of the well-known Dām^{a}dar Uḍar[3].

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[1] See *Locanoḍḍāra* and *Dhyānoḍḍāra*, note viii. 1427.

The Uḍars of the Kaśmīr Valley are usually considered by geologists to be due to lacustrine deposits. They appear either isolated by lower ground arround them, or connected by very gentle slopes with spurs descending from the mountains. Often the tops of these plateaus seen almost perfectly flat, forming table-lands of varying dimensions. They rise generally from 100 to 300 feet above the level of the revines and valleys which intersect them, and through which the streams from the mountains and their own drainage find their way to the Vitastā. Most of the Uḍars are found on the south-western side of the Valley, stretching from Śupiyan to Bārāmūla. But they also occur across the river on the north-eastern side of the Valley, and at both extremities of the river-flat in the south-east and north-west.

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[2] See *Gusikoḍḍāra* the Uḍar of Gūs, near Rāmuh, *Śrīv*. iv. 465, 592, 596 ; *Dāmodaroḍḍāra*, the Dām^{a}dar Uḍar, *Śriv* iv 618 ; *Laulapuroḍḍāra*, Fourth Chron. 175, etc.

[3] See note i. 156.

Soil of Uḍars :

Owing to the inferiority of the soil and the difficulty of irrigation, the Uḍars show a marked difference in point of fertility from other parts of the Valley. Those which slope down from the foot of the mountains have been brought under cultivation with the help of water-courses conducted over them from the higher ground behind. Most of these irrigation channels are, no doubt, of ancient date, and some are specially mentioned in the Chronicles. To other Uḍars, particularly those which are entirely isolated, water could not be brought These are either entire wastes covered with low jungle or if cultivated, yield only precarious crops owing to the uncertanity of the rainfall.

Some of the Uḍars, owing to their position near the Vitastā or for other reasons, are sites of importance in the ancient topography of Kaśmīr. Such are the plateaus of Mārtāṇḍa, Cakradhara, Padmapura, Parihāsapura. Another, the 'Uḍar of Dāmodara, plays an intersting part in the legendary lore of the country.

Climate of Kaśmīr :

77. Climatic conditions are so closely

connected with a country's topography that the few old notices and references we have regarding those of Kaśmīr may fitly find mention here.

The only distinct account of the Kaśmīr climate is given by Albēıūnī.[4] He clearly indicates the reason why Kaśmīr is exempt from the heavy monsoon rain of India proper. When the heavy clouds, he explains, reach the mountains which enclose Kaśmīr on the south, "the mountain sides strike against them, and the clouds are pressed like olives or grapes." In consequence "the rains pours down, and the rains never pass beyond the mountains. Therefore Kashmīr has no *varṣakāla*, but continual snow-fall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle of Caitra continual rain sets in for a few days, melting the snow and cleansing the earth. This rule has seldom an exception; however, a certain amount of extraordinary meteorological occurrences is peculiar to every province in India."

That this description is on the whole as accurate as Albērūnī's other data regarding Kaśmīr, will be easily seen by a reference to the detailed statements of Mr. LAWRENCE and Mr. ELIOT.[5]

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[4] See *India* , i. p. 211.

What chiefly characterizes the climate of Kaśmīr as against that of the Indian plains, is the absence of a rainy season and the equally marked absence of excessive heat. The moderate temperature of the Kaśmīr summer is ensured by the high elevation of the Valley, and has at all times been duly appreciated by its inhabitants as well as its visitors. Kalhaṇa proudly claims this exemption from the torments of a fierce sun as one of the favours accorded to his country by the gods.[6] His enthusiastic description of Kaśmīr summer passed "in the regions above the forests" shows that he was no stranger to the charms of that seasons in the alpine parts of the country.[7] More than once he refers to the sufferings which the heat of an Indian summer outside the Valley inflicts on Kaśmīrian exiles. Even in the hill-rigions immediately to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl the hot season with its accompanying fevers has often proved disastrous to the Kaśmīrian troops employed there[8].

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[5] See LAWRENCE, p. 24 sqq.

[6] See i. 41.

[7] ii. 138.

Rigours of Kaśmīr winter :

On the other hand we find also the rigours of a Kaśmīr winter duly illustrated by the Chronicler's narrative. We may refer to the description of the heavy and continued snowfall which followed Sussala's murder in Phālguna, of 1128 A. D., the freezing of the Vitastā in the winter of 1087-8 A. D., etc. [9] A graphic account of the pretender Bhoja's flight to the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley shows us in full detail the difficulties which attend a winter-march over the snow-covered mountains to the north of the valley.[10] Nor do we fail to be reminded otherwise of the great differences in climate which are implied by the varying altitudes of Kaśmīr localities.[11]

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[8] Compare vii. 970 ; viii. 1634, 1830, 1836, 1865 ; regarding the fever-season of Rājapurī and the neighbouring districts, note viii. 1873.

[9] viii. 1376 sqq. 1434 sqq.; vii. 592.

[10] See viii. 2710 sqq. It must be remembered that as much as forty to sixty feet of snow falls in a severe winter on the higher ranges around Kaśmīr ; see also viii. 411.

[11] Compare vii. 916 ; viii. 2511 ; ii. 138.

Exceptionally early snow-fall in the autumn such as saved the garrison of the frontier fort on the Dugdhaghāta Pass, has always been known and dreaded even low down in the Valley. The danger it represents for the rice-crops is illustrated by Kalhaṇa's account of the famines resulting from such premature snow-falls.[12]

In this as in other respects there is nothing to suggest any material change of the climatic conditions during historical times. Kalhaṇa, it is true, in describing the reign of Abhimanyu I., speaks of deep snow as "falling each year to cause distress to the Bauddhas" and obliging the king to pass six months of the cold season in Dārvābhisāra. But the whole story there related is nothing but a mere rechauffé of the ancient legned told in the Nīlamata of the annual migrations caused by the presence of the Piśācas. It therefore can claim no historical value whatever.[13]

78. Cultivation such as appears to have been carried on in Kaśmīr since the earliest

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[12] ii. 18 sqq. ; viii. 2449.

[13] See i. 180, and note i. 184.

historical period, must necessarily leave its traces in the topography of a country, and may hence claim a passing notice.

Rice cultivation:

Rice has, as far as we can go back, always been the largest and most important produce of the Valley. Its character as the main cereal is sufficiently emphasized by the fact that it is usually referred to in the Chronicles by the simple term of *dhāyna*, 'grain.'[14] The conditions of its cultivation presuppose an extensive system of irrigation. For this the Kaśmīr Valley with its abundance of streams and springs is admirably adapted by nature. The elaborate arrangements which exist at present for taking water from the streams large and small and distributing it over all the ground capable of irrigation, will be found fully detailed in Mr. LAWRENCE'S valuable and exhaustive account of Kaśmīr agriculture[15] There is every reason to believe that they have come down, with little if any change, from a very early period.

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[14] "The Kaśmīris, so far, have considered no crop worthy of attention save rice ;" LAWRENCE, *Valley* p. 319.

[15] See *Valley*, p.p. 323 sq.

Many of the larger irrigation channels which intersect the fertile alluvial flats or skirt the terraced slopes of the Uḍars and mountain sides, are shown on the map ; see e.g. the tracts on the lower course of the Lidᵃr, Veśau, Sind, and other rivers. In old times when the population was larger than now, much land which is at present allowed to lie waste on the hill-sides, on the Uḍars, and in the low-lying tracts by the marshes, must have been under cultivation.[16]

I have often come across traces of old irrigation-cuts long ago abandoned which brought down the water of the melting snows from alpine plateaus high above the forest zone. Their distance from any lands capable of rice-cultivation is so great, and the trouble of their constrution must have been so considerable that only a far greater demand for irrigation than the present one can account for their existence.

Irrigation canals :

In the earliest traditions recorded by Kalhaṇa the construction of irrigation canals plays already a significant part. The Suvarṇamaṇikulyā which is ascribed to King Ṣuvaraṇa and which still brings water to a great part of the Āḍᵃvin district, has already been noticed.[17] The reference to the aqueduct by which King Dāmodara is supposed to have attempted to bring water to the great Uḍar named after him, though legendary in the main, is also characteristic.[18] Lalitāditya is credited with having supplied villages near Cakradhara : Tsakᵃdar with the means of irrigation by the construction of a series of water-wheels (*araghaṭṭa*) which raised the water of the Vitastā.[19]

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[16] Compare *Valley*, pp. 239 and 256, as to the extensive areas which were once cultivated, and are likely to be so again in future.

To SUYYA, however, Avantivarman's engineer, is ascribed the merit of having on an extensive scale secured, river-water for village-lands. From Kalhaṇa's detailed description it is evident that Suyya's regulation of the Vitastā was accompanied by systematic arrangements for the construction of irrigation-channels. For these the water of various hill-streams was utilized as well as that of the main river. The size and distribution of the water-course for each village was fixed on a permanent basis. He is thus said to have "embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce." The increase in produce consequent on these measures and the reclamation of new land from the river and marshes, is said to have lowered the average price of a Ḳhāri of rice from two hundred to thirty-six Dīnnāras.[20]

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[17] See above, § 64.

[18] See note i. 156 sq.

[19] See note iv. 191.

The importance of irrigation from a revenue point of view must have always been recognized by the rulers of the country. Hence even in later times we find every respite from internal troubles marked by repairs of ancient eanals or the construction of new ones. The long and peaceful reign of Zainu-l-'ābidīn which in many respects revived the tradition of the earlier Hindu rule, seems in paticular to have been productive of important irrigation works. Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's Chronicles give a considerable list of canals constructed under this king.[21] Among these the canal which distributed the water of the Pohur River over the

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[20] See v. 109-112 and note.

[21] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.) 1141-55, 1257 sqq. ; *Śrīv.* i. 414 sqq.

For repairs of old canals, see Rajat. viii. 2380.

Zainᵃgīr Pargaṇa, and the one by which the water of the Lidᵃr was conducted to the arid plateau of Mārtāṇḍa, deserve special mention. In the latter locality some work of this kind must have existed already at a far earlier period. Or else we could scarcely understand how it could have been chosen at the site for Lalitāditya's magnificent temple and the flourishing township which once surrounded it.[22]

Saffron-cultivation :

Of the other products of the Valley only two may be mentioned here, since they have from old times received special attention in all descriptions of the country. Kalhaṇa already, in his introduction, designates saffron and grapes among "the things that even in heaven are difficult to find but are common there."[23] Saffron (*kuṅkuma*) has to the present day remained a famous product of Kaśmīr. Its cultivation has apparently from an early time specially flourished about *Padmapura*, the present Pāmpur, where the Uḍar lands are still chiefly utilized for it. The Fourth Chronicle describes at length the plant and its treatment. Abū-l-Fazl mentions it also in the same locality and devotes to it a long notice.[24]

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[22] See iv. 192.

[23] i. 42.

Grapes :

The grapes of Kaśmīr which Kalhaṇa mentions repeatedly[25], have not retained their area of cultivation with equal persistence. They must have enjoyed reputation outside Kaśmīr, because the name *Kaṣmīrā* is given by Sanskrit Kośas as the designation of a special variety of grapes.[26] They were once plentiful at Mārtāṇḍa, where both Kalhaṇa and Fourth Chronicle mention them, and at many other localities.[27] In Akbar's time grapes were abundant in Kaśmīr and very cheap. But Abū-l-Fazal notes that the finer qualities were rare.[28] Since then viticulture among the people generally has greatly declined. Though vines of remarkable size and age can still be found in many places they are mostly wild. The produce of grapes is now restricted to a few old gardens at the mouth of the Sind Valley, and to the new vineyards established on the Ḍal shores by the late Mahārāja for the cultivation of French vines.[29]

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[24] See Fourth Chron. 926 sqq. ; *Āīn-i-Akb.*, i. pp 357 sq.

[25] i. 42 ; iv. 192 ; vii. 498.

[26] See *P.W.*, s.v.

[27] Fourth Chron. 851, 928.

[28] *Āīn-i-Akb.*, i. p. 349 ; also i. p. 65.

SECTION VIII.—ETHNOGRAPHY

79. It will be useful to refer here briefly to the data we possess regarding the old ethnography of Kaśmīr and the adjacent hill-regions.

Kaśmīrī race :

As far as Kaśmīr itself is concerned our information does not allow us to connect any particular localities with ethnic divisions. Judging from Kalhaṇa's Chronicle and what other sources of information are available to us, the population of Kaśmīr has shown already in old times the same homogeneity that it does at present. The physical and ethnic characteristics which so sharply mark off the Kaśmīrī from all surrounding races, have always struck observant visitors to the Valley and have hence often been described.[1] Hiuen Tsiang's brief sketch reproduced above is the earliest in date and still applies closely to the modern inhabitants.

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[29] For a detailed account of Kaśmīr vineyards, see LAWRENCE, *Valley* pp. 351 sq.

That the Kaśmīri is from a branch of the race which brought the languages of the Indo-Aryan type into India, is a fact established by the evidence of their language and physical appearance But when their settlement in the country took place, and from which direction they immigrated, are questions beyond the present range of historical research. The purity of race which has often been noted as distinguishing the great mass of the Kaśmīr population, may be admitted with a qualification. It is probably due not only to the country's natural isolation, but also to a curious faculty for absorbing foreign elements. Colonies of Mug͟hals, Paṭhāns, Panjābīs and Pahārīs settled within comparatively recent times in the Valley, are being amalgamated with remarkable rapidity through intermarriage and other means.

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[1] For a general account of Kaśmīr population DREW'S remarks. *Jummoo*, pp. 174 sqq., may still be recommended. Fuller and more exact details regarding the various classes, etc., will be found in Mr. LAWRENCE'S work, pp. 302 sqq.

Foreign immigrants :

The complete absorption of these settlements which is going on under our own eyes as it were, furnishes a likely analogy for the ethnic history of earlier times. We have reason to assume that Kaśmīr has also in Hindu times been often under foreign rule. It is difficult to believe that the reign of foreign dynasties has not been accompanied also by settlements of immigrants of the same nationality. But it is not likely that these foreign colonies were ever extensive. In any case we find no trace of their having retained a distinct and independent existence.

Tribal sections :

Various tribal sections of the population are mentioned in Kalhaṇa's narrative, but we have no means of deciding to what extent they were based on race or caste distinctions. The names of the ***Lavanyas*** and ***Tantrins*** survive in 'Krāms' or tribal names still borne by sections of the Muhammadan rural population (Lūn^{i} and Tāntr^{i}).[2] But whatever distinctions of race or caste may have originally been indicated by these 'Krāms,' they have long ago disappeared. It is equally certain from an examination of the Chronicle that these sections were never confined to particular territorial divisions, but spread over the whole Valley.

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[2] Compare notes v. 248 ; vii. 1171.

The humblest of these is probably the one which has least changed its character during the course of centuries. The modern *Ḍūmbs*, the descendants of the old *Ḍombas*,[3] are still the low-caste watchmen and village-menials as which they figure in Kalhaṇa's narrative. They, like the still more despised Vātals or scavengers, cannot intermarry with other Kaśmīrīs. They have thus retained in their appearance a distinctive type of their own which points to relationship with the gipsy tribes of India and Europe.

It is difficult to come to any definite conclusion as regards the *Ki-lo-to* whom Hiuen Tsiang mentions as a law-born race settled in Kaśmīr from early times and opposed to the

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[3] See note iv. 475 ; also v. 353 sqq. ; vi. 84, 182 ; vii. 964, 1133 ; viii. 94.

These passages show that the Ḍombas also earned their bread as hunters, fishermen, buffoons, quacks, etc., and their daughters as singers and dancers. Their occupations thus closely resembled those of the gipsies whose name, *Rom*, is undoubtedly derived from Skr. *ḍomba* ; see *P.W.*, s.v.

Bauddhas.[4] Their name, usually transcribed *Kritya*, cannot be traced in indigenous records. There is nothing to support their identification with the *Kīras* as suggested by General Cunningham.[5] The latter seem to have been a tribe settled somewhere in the vicinity of Kaśmīr.[6]

Races on Kaśmīr borders: *Khaśas*:

80. The ethnography of the territories immediately adjoining Kaśmīr can be traced quite clearly from the notices of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. In the south and west the adjacent hill-regions were occupied by *Khaśas.* Their settlements extended, as shown by numerous passages of the Chronicle, in a wide semicircle from *Kaṣṭᵃvār* in the south-east to the Vitastā Valley in the west.[7] The hill-states of Rājapurī and Lohara were held by Khaśa families; the dynasty of the latter territory succeeded to the rule of Kaśmīr in the eleventh century. I have shown elsewhere that the Khaśas are identical with the present *Khakha* tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitastā Valley below Kaśmīr, and in the neighbouring hills belong. We have already seen that the Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hillmen.

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[4] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal., i. pp. 150, 156 sqq.

[5] See *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 93.

[6] Compare note viii. 2767.

[7] See note i. 317.

North of the Vitastā Valley and as far as the Kiṣangaṅgā we now find the *Bombas* as the neighbours of the Khakhas to whom they are closely related. It is probable that the Karnāv district was held by them already in old times. Kalhaṇa seems to comprise them, viii. 3088, under the designation of Khaśa.

Darads :

The upper Kiṣangaṅā Valley above Śardı was in old days already, as at present, inhabited by Dards (Skr. *Darad*, *Dārada*) who are often referred to by Kalhaṇa as the neighbours of Kaśmīr on the north.[8] Their seats extended then, too, probably much further to the north-west, where they are now found in Citrāl,

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[8] See note i. 312-316.

Yāsīn, Gilgit and the intervening regions towards Kaśmīr. Megasthenes already knew them in the Upper Indus regions. Kalhaṇa relating events of his own time speaks of *Mlecchas* further to the north. These might have been Muhammadanized Dards on the Indus, and beyond.[9]

Bhauṭṭas :

The regions immediately to the north-east and east of Kaśmīr were held by the *Bhuṭṭas.* We have already seen that these represent the people of Tibetan descent, the modern *Buṭ*ᵃ of Drās, Ladākh and the neighbouring mountain districts.

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[9] See note viii. 2762-64.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL TOPOGRAPHY

SECTION I.– FRONTIERS OF ANCIENT KAŚMIR

81. Our account of the political topography of ancient Kaśmīr may conveniently open with a survey of its frontiers. These agree so closely with the natural boundaries of the Valley that we have already had occasion to trace them when dealing with the mountain-ranges enclosing the latter. It will, however, be useful to supplement our information regarding these frontiers by a brief notice of the territories which lay beyond them and formed the neighbours of the Kaśmīr kingdom in Hindu times.

Territories S.E. of Kaśmīr: *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* :

Beginning in the south-east we have first the Valley of KASTHAVATA, the present Kaṣṭ^{a}vār ('Kishtwar' of the maps), on the upper Cināb. It is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a separate hill-state in the time of Kalaśa.[1] Its

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[1] See note viii. 590.

Rājās who were Hindus till Aurangzeb's time, practically retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Mahārāja Gulāb Singh.

The hill-district of Bhadravāh lower down on the Cināb is once named in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as BHADRAVAKASA.[2] Its Rājās were tributary to Cambā in rccent centuries. This was probably the case also in earlier times, as we do not find a ruler of Bhadrāvakāśa referred to in Kalhaṇa's lists of hill Rājās.

Campā :

The Rājās of Cambā, the ancient CAMPA, on the other hand, figure often in the Kaśmīr Chronicle.[3] Their territory has since early times comprised the valleys of the sources of the Rāvī between Kāngra the ancient Trigarta, and Kāṣṭhavāṭa. The ancient Rājpūt family which rules this hill-state to the *present day, often intermarried with the Lohara dynasty which reigned in Kaśmīr.

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[2] See note viii. 501.

[3] Compare note vii. 218, and CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 141. * *i. e.* 1900 A. D.

Vallāvura :

To the west of Cambā and south of Bhadrāvakāśa lay the old chiefship of VALLAPURA, the modern Ballāvar.[4] Its rulers are repeatedly referred to in Kalhaṇa's narrative. They retained their independence as petty hill-chiefs till the rise of the Jammu family early in this century. Ballāvar was known also to Albērūnī.

Of the political organization of the hill territories between Vallāpura in the south-east and Rājapurī in the north-west we have no distinct information. The Hindu inhabitants of this tract including Ballāvar call themselves now *Dogrās* and their country *Dugar*. This name is traditionally derived from Skr. **Dvigarta*.[5] But this term is nowhere found in our historical texts and has probably been concocted in analogy of the ancient name Trigarta. The original form of the name seems to be *Durgara*.[6]

It is very probable that the region of the lower and middle hills between the limits indicated was already in old times divided into a number of small chiefships. Of these some eleven seem to have existed up to the extension of the Sikh power into the Panjāb Kohistān.[7] They were all absorbed in the growing state of Jammu which was originally one of them.

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[4] See note vii. 220, and CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 135.

[5] See DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 43 sq.

[6] Compare the Cambā copperplate, edited by Prof. KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p. 9.

Among these small hill-chiefs of limited territory but ancient descent we have probably to class the Ṭhakkura Deṅgapāla on the Cināb who gave his daughter to the pretender Bhikṣācara in marriage.[8] Also the Rāja of **KAṆDA** must probably be located in this hill-tract.[9] Other Ṭhakkuras in this region are mentioned as levying blackmail. on Prince Mallārjuna when on his march to Kaśmīr from the plains.[10]

V·ṣalāṭā :

Immediately at the foot of the Bānᵃhāl Pass in the territory of **VISALATA** we find the castle of a 'Khaśa lord' who gave shelter to Bhikṣācara and at the time was evidently independent.[11] Temporarily the chiefs of the hills immediately south of the Pīr Pantsāl Range may have acknowledged the suzerainty of strong Kaśmīr rulers. But during the greatest part of the period which is known to us from historical sources, they appear to have held their own and rather to have levied subsidies, i.e. blackmail, from the Kaśmīr rulers.[12]

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[7] See CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.* pp., 133 sqq., where a useful synopsis of the hill-states in the central portion of the Panjāb Kohistān is given.

[8] See *Rājat.* viii. 554 sqq.

[9] See note vii. 590.

[10] viii. 1989 sqq.

Territories S.W. and W. of Kaśmīr :

82. Some of the petty hill-states here referred to must have been included in the region which by its ancient name was known as DARVABHISARA. I have elsewhere shown that this name as a geographical term was applied to the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Candrabhāgā and Vitastā.[13] The combined names of the Dārvas and Abhisāras we found already in the ethnographical lists of the Mahābhārata and Bṛhatsaṁhitā. A chief of this region figures under the ethnic appellation of *Abisares* in the accounts of Alexander's Indian campaign.

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[11] viii. 1665 sqq.

[12] See note viii. 2283.

[13] See note i. 180.

Rājapurī:

The most important of the hill states in this territory was certainly the RAJAPURI, represented by the modern district of Rajaurī.[14] It comprised the valleys drained by the Tohī of Rajaurī and its tributaries. Owing to its position on the most direct route to the Panjāb, Rājapurī was necessarily often brought into political relations with Kaśmīr. When Hiuen Tsiang passed through it, the 'kingdom of Rājapurī' was subject to Kaśmīr From the tenth century onwards we find the chiefs of Rājapurī as practically independent rulers, though the Chronicle tells us of numerous expeditions undertaken into their territory by the later Kaśmīr kings. The upper Valley of the Tohī of Prūnts leading to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass was included in Rājapurī territory.[15] Here lay probably the famous stronghold of RAJAGIRI known also to Albērūnī.[16]

Rājapurī took its name from its capital

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[14] For a detailed account, see note vi. 286.

[15] See note viii. 959.

[16] See note vii 1270.

which is repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and undoubtedly occupied the position of the present town of Rajaurī.[17] The ruling family belonged to the Khaśa tribe. Its descendants were the Muhammadanized Rājpūt chiefs who retained this territory down to the present century.

Lohara :

On the north-west Rājapurī was adjoined by the territory of LOHARA.[18] The chief valley belonging to this hill-state was the present Lohᵊrin which we have already visited when examining the Toṣᵊmaidān route. Lohara became important for Kaśmīr from the end of tenth century onwards when a branch of its ruling family obtained the Kasmīr throne. Subsequently this branch succeeded also to Lohara which thus became united with Kaśmīr under the same ruler. As the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty, the castle of Lohora has played a great part during the last reigns related by Kalhaṇa. The chiefs of Lohara are distinctly named as belonging to the Khaśa tribe.

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[17] See vii. 973 sqq.

[18] Compare for history of *Lohara* and its various localities, Note *E*, iv. 177. VOL. II.

Parṇotsa :

Lohara seems to have included in those times also the town and district of PARNOTSA, corresponding to the present Pūnch or Prūnts (the Kaśmīrī form), in the lower valley of the Tohī (*Tauṣī*).[19] In Hiuen Tsiang's time Parṇotsa gave its name to the whole hill-state which was then tributary to Kaśmīr. The Muhammadan Rājas of Prūnts, closely related to the Khokhas of the Vitastā Valley, remained more or ltss independent till the conquest of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh. Their territory forms now a separate small principality under a branch of the Jammu family. Parṇotsa being on the great route to the western Panjāb is often mentioned in the Kaśmīr Chronicles. The large percentage of the Kaśmīrī element in the population of Prūnts attests the closeness and ancient date of its relotion to Kaśmīr. The hills to the south-west of Prūnts were held till early in this century by petty chiefs, known as the Rājās of *Koṭlī*. It is possible that the small hill-state of KALINJARA repeatedly referred to by Kalhaṇa and known also to Ferishta, lay in this direction.[20]

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[19] See for details note iv. 184.

Hiuen Tsiang's reference shows that the town of Parṇotsa must be older than the time of Lalitāditya to whom Kalhaṇ ascribed its foundation.

Dvāravatī:

Proceeding to the north-west of Parṇotsa we come to the valley of the Vitastā. This, as has already been shown above, was held in old times as an outlying frontier district of Kaśmīr as far down as BOLYASAKA, the present Buliāsa. Beyond this point it was occupied by Khaśas. In Muhammadan times the valley was divided between several petty chiefs of the Khakha and Bomba clans who seem to have acknowledged as their nominal head the Khakha Rājā of Muzaffarābād. The portion of the valley between Muzaffarābād and Buliāsa bore the old name of DVARAVATI from which the modern designation of this tract, *Dvārbidī*, is derived.[21]

Uraśā:

83. Further to the west and beyond the course of the Vitastā after its great bend, lay

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[20] See note vii. 1256.

[21] See note v. 214 and above, § 53.

the ancient kingdom of URASA.[22] Its greatest part is comprised in the Btitish district of Hazāra between the Vitastā and the Indus. It is the Ouarasa or Arsa of Ptolemy ; its ruler figures as *Arsakes* in the accounts of Alexander's campaign. Hiuen Tsiang who mentions the territory by the name of *Wu-la-shi*, found it tributary to Kaśmīr. Though this dependence seems soon to have ceased, we find Ūraśā often referred to in the Rājataraṇgiṅiṇī. The account of Śaṁkaravarman's ill-fated expendition in this direction furnishes us with a clue as to the position of the old capital of Uraśā. It probably lay between the present Mansahra and Abbottabad.[23]

Kalhaṇa's notice of an expendition undertaken in his own time mentions in Uraśā ATYUGRAPURA. I have shown in my note on the passage that this locality is probably represented by the modern *Agror*, situated towards the 'Black Mountains.' We have an intermediary form of the name in Ptolemy's Ithāgoures given as the designation of a 'town'

[22] For a detailed synopsis of the old notices, see note v. 217.

[23] See note v. 217, and CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 104.

in Ouarsa north of Taxila [24]

In Muhammadan times Uraśā was included in the region known as Pakhlī. This is defined by Abū-l-Fazl as comprising the whole of the hill territory between Kaśmīr in the east and the Indus on the west.[25] To Pakhlī belonged also the lower valley of the Kiṣanaṅgā and the valleys of the streams which flow into the latter from the Kājnāg range and the mountains to the north-west of Kaśmīr.

Karṇāha :

This tract which is now known as *Karnāv* or Karnau, bore the old name of KARNAHA. It seems to have been held by small chiefs nominally tributary to Kaśmīr even in later Hindu times.[26] It is but rarely mentioned in the Chronicle, The inhabitants were Khaśas,[27] who are represented by the modern Bomba clans still holding Karnāv. Their Rājās were practically independent till the Sikh conquest and often harried the north-western parts of

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[24] Compare note viii. 3402.

[25] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 390 sq.

[26] Compare note viii. 2485.

[27] See viii. 2756, 3006, 3088.

Kaśmīr.[28] The last irruption of the Karnāv Bombas and their allies the Khakha chiefs of the Vitastā Valley, occurred as late as 1846.

The valley of the Kiṣanngaṅgā above its junction with the Karnāv river and as far as Śardi, forms a separate tract known as *Drāva*. This is possibly the *Durāṇḍa* mentioned in a passage of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.[29] The northernmost portion of the tract seems to have been a dependency of Kaśmīr even during the later Hindu reigns. At Śardi we find the shrine of ŚARADA, one of the most sacred Tīrthas of old Kaśmīr. To this as well as an old feudal stronghold in its neighbourhood we shall have occasion to refer below.[30]

Through Śardi leads a route to Cilās on the Indus. But this territory as well as the other portions of the upper Indus Valley lay apparently quite outside the sphere of Kaśmīr political influence Hence we meet nowhere in the Chronicles with their ancient names.

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[28] Compare for the modern Karnav, BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 228.

[29] See note viii. 2709.

[30] See § 127.

Darad territory :

84. Immediately above Śardi the valley of the Kiṣangaṅgā turns, as we have seen, into a narrow uninhabited gorge. At the other end of this gorge we reach the territory of the Dards. Their settlements on the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā and its tributaries seem to have formed a separate little kingdom, called by a general name DARADDESA in the Chronicle.[31] Its rulers who bore Hindu names, more than once attemped invasions of Kaśmīr.

DARATPURI, 'the town of the Dards,' which was their residence, may have occupied the position of the modern Gurēz (map 'Goorais').[32] The latter is the chief place of the Valley where the Nawābs, governing it till the Sikh conquest, resided. The 'Mleccha' chiefs who on two occasions figure as the Dard Rājās' allies from the north, were perhaps rulers of other Darad tribes further towards the Indus who had been early converted to Islām [33]

[31] Compare vii. 911; for other references to the Darads, note i. 312.

[32] See note vii. 911.

[33] See note viii. 2762.

The *Bhauṭṭa*-land:

Crossing from the head-waters of the Kiśangaṅgā to those of the Drās River we reach high-level valleys inhabited by people of Tibetan race and language, the *Bhauṭṭas* of the Chronicles. The Rājataraṅgiṇī tells us nothing of the political organization or topography of the Bhauṭṭa territories. It is however, possible that we have a reference to Leh, the capital of Ladākh in "the foreign country called *Loḥ*" which Kalhaṇa names in iii. 10. Nor do the later Chronicles supply us with details, though the several invasions which Kaśmīr suffered from this side give Jonarāja and Śrīvara occasion to refer more frequently to the Bhauṭṭas and their rulers.

It may, however, be noted that Śrīvara already knows the terms 'Little and Great *Bhuṭṭa*-land'[34] They refer to Baltistān (Skardo) and Ladākh which have continued to be known to the present day as 'Little and Great Tibet,' or among Kaśmīr as *Lukh Buṭun* and *Buḍ Buṭun.*[35]

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[34] See *Śrīv.* iii. 445 (*Sūkṣmabṛhadbhuṭṭadeśau*).

[35] *Buṭun*, connected with the ethnic term Buṭᵃ< Bhauṭṭa (see above, † 58), is the Kaśmīrī term for Tibet in general.

These terms are in fact of a far older date, as they are found already in the Chinese Annals as 'Little and Great Poliu.'[36]

The eastern frontier of Kaśmīr is, as we have seen, formed by a mountain range which runs from the Zojī-Lā almost due south towards Kaṣṭᵃvār. Along this range on the east lies a long narrow valley, marked as 'Maru-Wardwan' on the map (in Kaśmīrī, *Maḍivāḍvan*). It is drained by a large river which joins the Cināb near the town of Kaṣṭᵃvār. Owing to its high elevation and rigorous climate it is inhabited only by a scanty population. According to Mr. Drew's race-map and other authorities this consists now chiefly of Kaśmīrīs.

Whether this was already the case in old times, is uncertain. The valley is nowhere mentioned in our old Kaśmīrian texts.[37] It is hence doubtful whether it belonged to Kaśmīr territory in Hindu times. Yet Abū-l-Fazl counts it among the Parganas of Kaśmīr.[38]

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[36] Compare A. REMUSAT, *Nouveaux melanges asiatiques*, i. p. 194 ; and Sir H. YULE, *Cathay*, p. lxx.

[37] The Trisamdhyāmāhātmya which refers to the Valley as *Maḍavatirā*, cannot claim any particular antiquity.

[38] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 369.

Beyond it to the east stretches an uninhabited belt of high mountains and glaciers, dividing Maḍivāḍvan from the Tibetan tracts of Sūru and Zanskar. To the south we reach once more the territory of Kāṣṭhavāṭa from which our survey of the Kaśmīr frontiers started.

SECTION II.—ANCIENT POLITICAL DIVISION

Kramarājya, Maḍavarjāya :

85. The Valley of Kaśmīr to which we now return once more, has from early times been divided into two great parts, known by their modern names as *Kamrāz* and *Marāz*. These terms are derived from Skr. KRAMARAJYA and MADAVARAJYA, which are found very frequently in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as well as the later Chronicles.[1] The original form of the modern Kamrāz was known to the tradition of the Śrīnagar Paṇḍits generally. With the old name Maḍavarājya, however, I found only those few scholars acquainted who, like the late Paṇḍit Dāmodara and Paṇḍit Govind Kaul, had specially studied Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

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[1] See note ii. 15.

According to the generally prevailing notion Marāz comprises the districts on both sides of the Vitasta above Śrīnagar, and Kamrāz those below. The present tradion places the boundaries of the two great divisions more accurately at the S̲h̲ērgaṛhi palace. That the boundary was already in old times indicated by a line drawn through the capital is easily proved by an examination of all passages in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and other Chronicles naming Maḍavarājya and Kramarājya. They invariably show localities situated above Śrīnagar in the former and those below in latter division.

We arrive at the same result on a reference to the *Āīn-i* Akbarī. Abū-l-Fazal distinctly informs us that "the whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions, *Marāj* on the east, and *Kamrāj* on the west."[2] He then proceeds to tabulate the thirty-eight Parganas into which Kaśmīr was divided under Akbar's administration, separately under the two main heads of Marāj and Kamrāj. The city of Śrīnagar is counted with the former, and so are also all Parganas above the capital ; those below are shown in Kamrāj.

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[2] Compare *Aīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 368.

The term Kamrāz has in modern times occasionally been used also in a more restricted sense, for the designation of the Pargaṇas to the west and north-west of the Volur lake. This usage probably arose from the fact that at various periods several of the small Pargaṇas in this portion of the Valley were for administrative purposes grouped together in one Pargaṇa, to which the name Kamrāj was given.[3] This circumstance explains the different accounts referred to by Prof. Bühler in his note on the term Kramarājya.[4]

Though the terms Maḍavarājya and Kramarājya are so often employed in the Chronicles, we have no distinct evidence of the two divisions having in Hindu times formed separate administrative units or provinces. It is possible that this was the case at one or the other period. But Abū-l-Fazl's account as well as the usage traceable from his time to the present day show that the terms in their popular geographical significance could maintain themselves quite independently of administrative divisions.

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[3] Thus Abū-l-Fazil's table seems to show that in Akbar's time the old Pargaṇas of Uttar, Lolau, Hamal, and Mach^{i}pūr were embodied in the large Pargaṇa of 'Kamrāj'; see *Aīn-iAkb.*, p. 371. In Moorcroft's and Baron Hugl's list the Pargaṇa Kamrāj includes Uttar, Hamal, and Mach^{i}pūr. Owing to the frequent changes of the Pargaṇa divisions (see below) the extent of the Pargaṇa Kamrāj' has also varied from time to time.

[4] See *Report*, P. 11.

Administrative districts :

86. The whole of the Valley has from an early date been subdivided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of small districts known in recent times as 'Pargaṇas.' Their ancient designation was *viṣaya*.[5] The number, names, and limits of these sub-divisions have been subject to considerable variations during the period over which our documents extend. The great majority of the Pargaṇas known in recent times can be safely assumed to have existed already during Hindu rule. This is proved by the fact that the names of numerous Pargaṇas are found in their ancient forms already in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the other Chronicles. But these texts do not furnish us anywhere with a complete list of the Pargaṇas. It is hence impossible for us to restore in full detail the map of the administrative sub-divisions for any particular epoch during Hindu times.

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[5] Compare for the term *viṣaya* v. 51 ; viii. 1260. 1413, 2697.

The later Chroniclers use also the term *rāṣṭra* ; comp. e.g. *Jonar*. 141 ; *Śrīv*. ii. 19 ; iii. 25, 159, 425.

The expression Pargaṇa may have been introduced by the Mughal administration. Its Skr. original **puragaṇa* is not found in the Chronicles.

The Lokaprakāśa, it is true, tells us of the division of Kaśmīr into twenty-seven 'Viṣayas,' and enumerates some nineteen of the latter. But several of the names are so corrupt as to be beyond recognition, while others bear a distinctly modern look. In any case it is impossible to fix the date to which this notice may belong or to judge of its authenticity.[6]

Abū-l-Fazl's Pargaṇa list :

Abū-l-Fazl's account is the first which present us with a systematic statement of Kaṣmīr Pargaṇas. It is of special interest, because it shows us how their list could be increased or readjusted within certain limits according to fiscal requirements or administrative fancies. The return of Asaf K͟hān reproduced by Abū-l-Fazl shows thirty-eight Parganas, while the earlier one of Qāzi 'Alī contained forty-one. The difference is accounted for by the amalgamation of some and the splitting-up of other Parganas. The Parganas varied greatly in size, as shown by the striking contrasts in the revenue assessments. Thus, e.g., Paṭan was assessed at circ. 5300 K͟harwārs, while the revenue from Kamrāz amounted to 446,500 K͟harwārs.

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[6] Of the Lokaprakāśa's Viṣayas *Khoyāśrama*, *Śamālā*, *Laharī*, *Auladīya*, *Nīlāśa*,*Khaḍūvīya* correspond clearly to the Khūyāśrama, Śamālā, Lahara, Holāḍā. Nilāśva, Khaḍūvī of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. *Ekena*, *Devasūvī* may possibly be corruptions for Evenaka and Devasarasa. *Krodhana*, *Dvāvimśati*, *Bhṛṅga*, *Phāgvā* seem to represent the modern Pargaṇas of Kruhin, Dūn$^{\underline{ts}}$, Bring Phākh. *Cālana*, *Vitasthā*, *Satrava*, *Svanavāri*, *Nālā*, *Hārī*, *Jalahaḍiya*, are quite uncertain.

The number of Parganas had changed but little during Mug͟hal and Paṭhān times. For the Sikhs on their conquest of the Valley, seemed to have found thirty-six as the accepted traditional number. But there had been various changes in the names and extent of these Parganas. These changes became still more frequent under the Sikh administration, as is seen by a comparison of the lists given by Moorcroft (1823), Baron Hügal (1835), and Vigne (1840 ?). They all show a total of thirty-six Parganas, but differ from each other in the names of individual Parganas.

Modern Pargaṇa lists :

These frequent changes and redistributions of the Pargaṇas continued during Dogrā Rule. The most accurate list I am able to refer to for this most recent period, is that given by Major Bates. It shows a total of forty-three Pargaṇas for the year 1865.[7] Subsequently Taḥsīls were constituted, after the fashion of British provinces, with a view to reducing the number of sub-divisions. The latest list shows eleven Taḥsīls.[8] In their constitution little regard was paid to the historical division of the country. Fortunately, however, Kaśmīrīs are as conservative in their topographical nomenclature as in many other matters. The old Pargaṇa names are hence still in ordinary use and likely to remain so for some time to come.[9]

The absence of a complete list of Pargaṇas for an earlier period and the changes in their constitution during more recent times make a systematic exposition of the ancient territorial divisions impracticable. In a separate note I have given a comparative table of the Pargaṇa lists we possess since Akbar's time. There, too,

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[7] See *Gazetteer*, pp. 2 sqq.

[8] Compare the sketch-map attached to Mr. LAWRENCE'S *Valley*.

[9] The Survey of India maps indicate the approximate extent of the Pargaṇas recognized in the fifties.

I have indicated the ancient equivalents of the Pargaṇa names, as far as they can be traced in the Sanskrit Chronicles.[10]

Density of population :

87. The large number of administrative sub-divisions which, as we have seen, goes back to an early date, may be taken as an indication of the dense population of the Valley. We have no means of forming any accurate estimate as to the number of the population which the country contained in Hindu times. But there is every reason to believe that even at a later period it was far larger than at the present day. The existence of a very great number of deserted village sites in all parts of the country, the remains already alluded to of a far more extended system of irrigation, the number of great temple-ruins, and the uniform tradition of the people,— all point to the same conclusion.

The present century has witnessed in Kaśmīr a series of appalling famines and epidemics. These wrought terrible havoc in the mass of the rural population particularly. The last famine, 1877-79, alone is supposed to have removed three-fifths of the population from the Valley.[11] The political vicissitudes, too, of the first half of the century had a baneful influence on the economical condition of Kaśmīr, and brought about an extensive emigration both among the industrial and agriculturist classes.

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[10] See Supplementary Note *BB*.
Individual Pargaṇa names will be noticed below in connection with our detailed surveyof teh Valley.

Notwithstanding all these trials the population, which in 1835 was estimated at about 200,000 souls, had risen to 814,000 according to the census of 1891. These figures indicate great powers of recuperation, and yet it is held by competent judges that the present agricultural population is by no means sufficient even for the land actually under cultivation. It would hence manifestly be hazardous to make any guess as to the numbers which the country might have supported in the most prosperous times of Hindu rule.

Number of villages :

The fact of Kaśmīr having possessed a far greater population in ancient times helps to explain the curious traditional verse which puts the number of villages in Kaśmīr at 66,063. The verse is found twice in the Lokaprakāśa and still lives in the oral tradition of the Brahmans throughout the Valley. It has been reproduced from the latter in Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's Tīrthasaṁgraha.[12] That it can claim some antiquity is evident from the allusion made to the same number in Jonarāja's Chronicle.[13] Though that figure must have at all times implied a considerable exaggeration, it is nevertheless characteristic of the popular notion on the subject. Even Sharīfu-d-dīn whose information, collected about A.D. 1400, is on the whole accurate and matter-of-fact, records : "It is popularly believed that in the whole of the province—plains and mountains together - are comprised 100,000 villages.[14] The land is thickly inhabited." It is curious that Mirzā Ḥaidar, who had ruled Kaśmīr himself, copies this statement without modification or dissent.

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[11] Compare for this and other statistical details Mr. Lawrence's *Valley*, pp. 223 sqq.

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[12] *Ṣaṣṭir grāmasahasrāṇi ṣaṣṭir grāmaśatāni ca* | *ṣaṣṭir grāmās trayo grāmā hyetat Kaśmīramaṇḍalam* ||; compare *Lokaprakāśa*, in *Ind. Studien*, xviii. p. 375

[13] See *Jonar.* (Bo ed.), 153

[14] See *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p 430.

Ritter who produces the passage of the Zafarnāma from De la Croix's translation, shows the number of villages as 10,000 ; see *Asien*, ii. p. 1123.

It may be noted in passing that according to the census of 1891 the number of villages in Kaśmīr was then reckoned at 2,870.

SECTION III.—THE OLD AND NEW CAPITALS

Śrīnagara in Hiuen Tsiang's time :

88. The ancient divisions of Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya are separated by a line drawn through Śrīnagar. This fact, as well as the great historical intetest attaching to Śrīnagar as the capital of the country, make it a convenient starting-point for our survey. The history of Kaśmīr has always been reflected as it were in that of its capital. The site of the latter has not changed for more than thirteen centuries. It is thus easy to account for the ample historical data which enable us to restore in great part the ancient topography of Śrīnagar and to trace back the city's history to the time of its foundation.

Hiuen Tsiang who visited the Kaśmīr capital about A.D. 631, and whose record is the earliest we possess, found it already in the position of the present Śrīnagar. He describes it as situated along the bank of a great river, i e. the Vitastā, 12 or 13 *li* long from north to south and 4 or 5 *li* broad from east to west. About 10 *li* to the south-east of this, 'the new city,' the pilgrim notices a Buddhist convent which lay between a high mountain on the north and the site of 'the old city' on the south.

It is the merit of General CUNNINGHAM to have first recognized that the situation here indicated for the new capital of Hiuen Tsiang's time corresponds exactly to that of the modern Śrīnagar.[1] A glance at the map shows that the position and dimensions ascribed by Hiuen Tsiang to the new city apply to that part of Śrīnagar which occupies the right or eastern river-bank, and which, as we shall see, forms the older portion of the city. The two and a half miles represented by the 12 or 13 *li* of the Chinese measurement, agree accurately with the length of the city within its ancient limits along the right bank of the Vitastā. The estimate of its breadth at somewhat less than one mile (4 or 5 *li*) is equally correct.

Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna:

89. The position of 'the old city' is marked by the present village of *Pāndrēṭhan* which derives its name from the appellation PURANADHISTHANA, meaning 'the old capital.' It lies to the south-east of Śrīnagar, just as Hiuen Tsiang says, at the south foot of a mountain spur which rises with bold slopes to a height of some 3000 feet above the village. Measured from the nearest point of old Śrīnagar the distance to the presumptive site of the monastery, between Pānerēṭhan and the steep hillside, is exactly 2 miles or 10 *li*. The history of 'the Old Capital' is so closely connected with that of Śrīnagara that it will be useful to acquaint ourselves first with the data bearing upon it.

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[1] Gen. CUNNINGHAM'S identification was first indicated, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 283. For a fuller account, see *Anc. Geogr.* pp. 93 sqq.

The name of PURANADHISTHANA meets us first in Kalhaṇa's account of the reign of King Pravarasena I. (or Śreṣṭhasena) who is said to have erected there a shrine known as [Śiva] Pravareśvara.[2] At the beginning of the tenth century the minister Meruvardhana built at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna a Viṣṇu temple called afrer his own name. This has been rightly identified by General Cunningham with the well-preserved little temple which still stands in the village of Pāndrēṭhan and has often been described by European travellers.[3] Even in Kalhaṇa's own time pious foundations are recorded at this ancient site.

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[2] See note iii. 99, where detailed references have been given regarding the site.

The identity of Pāndrēṭhan with the site named in the Chronicle as 'the Old Capital' is proved by ample evidence. It is indicated in the old gloss on Rājat. v. 267, and is still known to Pandit tradition. Śrīvara in describing the flight of some troops which had been defeated in Śrīnagar and were retiring along the Vitastā to the east, speaks of the road from the Samudramaṭha (Sud$^{\text{a}}$rmar on the right bank of the river near the Second Bridge) to *Pūrvādhiṣṭhāna*, as covered with the corpses of the slain.[4] It is clear that by the latter designation, which also means 'the old Capital,' he refers to our present Pāndrēṭhan. This name itself is the direct phonetic derivative of *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.*[5]

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[3] See note v. 267, also for a description of the temple.

[4] See *Śrīv*. iv 290.

[5] The Kś. derivative of Skr. *purāṇa* is *prān^{i}*; this forms, with assimilation of the initial double consonant, the first part *Pān-*of the modern name. The elision of the second ā in the assumed intermediary form **P*[*ur*]*ā-ṇādeṭhan* is accounted for by the influence of the stress-accent which lies on the second syllable of the modern name. The development of the combination *nd* into *ndr* is paralleled by similar cases in other Indo-Aryan

Aśoka's *Śrīnagarī* :

90. General Cunningham has assumed that 'the Old Capital' marked by the site of Pāndrēṭhan was in reality the ancient ŚRINAGARI which Kalhaṇa mentions as a capital founded by the great Aśoka.[6] His assumption was based on another passage of the Chronicle which mentions the foundation of the shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrīagarī by Jalauka, the son of Aśoka. General Cunningham thought he could recognize this ahrine in the extant temple on the top of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, below which, at a distance of about one and a half miles, Pāndrēṭhan is situated.

I have shown in Note *C* (i. 124) that no reliance can be placed on the alleged tradition which General Cunningham had adduced as the sole proof of his location of the shrine. Yet at the same time the evidence recorded by me proves that Jyṣṭharudra must have been worshipped either on the hill itself or in its

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Vernaculars ; comp. s.g. GRIERSON, *Phonology*, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. p. 37, ‡ 115.

The nasalization of *e* may be of recent date, as the old gloss of A_2, on Rājat. v. 267, shows the name as *Pamydṛthan*, i.e. *Pān^{i}dreṭhan*.

[6] See Note *C*, i. 124.

close vicinity. Accordingly Aśoka's Śrīnagarī may safely be looked for in the same neighbourhood.

A further indication is furnished by the significant name *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*, 'the Old Capital.' It shows that the site of Pāndreṭhan must have once been occupied by an important city. Next it is to be noted that Kalhaṇa's narrative knows nothing of any other capital which might have been founded in this vicinity previous to the new capital built by Pravarasena II. on the site of the present Śrīnagar. Lastly we have an indication in the very name *Śrīnagara* which Pravarasena's city has come to bear in general usage instead of its proper and official designation Pravarapura.

Transfer of name to new capital :

If Aśoka's Śrīnagarī actually lay at or near the present Pāndrēṭhan the transfer of its name (meaning 'the City of *Crī*, i.e. Lakṣmī') to the new capital is most readily accounted for. General Cunningham already has rightly pointed out the numerous analogies for such a transfer furnished by the history of other Indian capitals.[7] Pravarasena's city was practically contiguous to the older Śrīnagarī and existed for centuries side by side with it. We can hence easily understand why popular usage retained for the new capital the old familiar designation.[8] Exactely in the same way the several new cities founded by successive kings in the vicinity of Delhi all continued to be known simply by the name of Delhi, though each of them was originally intended to bear the distinctive name of its founder.

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[7] See *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 97 sq.

Though Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna had sunk to small importance already in Hindu times, extensive remains of ancient buildings can still be traced on the terraced slopes rising immediately to the north and north-east of Pāndrēṭhan.[9] Those to the north extend close to the gap, known as *Aitᵃgaj*, between the Takh̲t-i Sulaimān and the hills east of it.

The advantages of Pāndrēṭhan as the site for a great city cannot be compared with those offered by the position of Śrīnagarī. Yet the close vicinity of the Vitastā, coupled with the security from floods which the near hill-slopes afford, must have been appreciated in an early period when probably the riveraine flats of the valley were less drained. The small semicircular glens lying between projecting spurs both north and east of the present village, with their gentle slopes offer convenient building sites. The fertile shores of the Ḍal are also within easy reach of Pāndrēṭhan through the gap already mentioned. It is probably in this direction that we have to look for the Saṅghārāma Hiuen Tsiang names in connection with 'the old city.'

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[8] The feminine form *Śrīnagarī* is used also for the new capital; comp. note i. 104. There is thus no difference in the name as applied to both Aśoka's and Pravarasena's cities. For a whimsical etymology of European growth which has turned *Śrīnagara*, the City of Śrī, into 'the City of the Sun,' see above, *a* 4, note.

[9] See note iii. 99.

Pravarasena's new capital :

91. Kalhaṇa's Chronicle furnishes us with a full account of the origin of the new city which was the capital of Kaśmīr in his own time and destined to remain so to the present day.[10] Kalhaṇa attributes the foundation of this capital to King Pravarasena II. The topographical details of his description make it clear beyond all doubt that its site was that of the present Śrīnagar.

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[10] See iii 336-363.

The identity of the latter with Pravarasena's town was duly recognized by General CUNNINGHAM, who referred to the close agreement between the general features of Kalhaṇa's description and the situation of the present capital. He also pointed out that Kalhaṇa distinctly mentions as one of the pious buildings founded in Pravarasena's city that very *Jayendravihāra* in which Hiuen Tsiang resided during his long stay in the Kaśmīr capital.[11] Subsequently Prof. BÜHLER noticed the survival of several old local names for parts of the modern city, which also prove its identity with Pravarasena's capital.[12] Many other ancient buildings and localities which Kalhaṇa mentions in Pravarasena's town have since been identified by me within the modern Śrīnagar and in its environs.

Name of *Pravarapura*:

The attribution of this new capital to King Pravarasena rests on equally strong proof. Through a chain of references extending over nearly twelve centuries we can trace the use of the name PRAVARAPURA, shortened *bhīmavat* for PRAVARASENAPURA, as the official and correct designation of the city occupying the site of the present Śrīnagar. We have found this appellation already in the record of the Tang Annals going back to the commencement of the eighth century. It is found also in the works of Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, and numerous other *Ka*śmīrian authors. It has continued to be used to the present day in colophons of Sanskrit Manuscripts, in horoscopes, and similar documents.[13]

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[11] See *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 97 ; also above, note iii- 355.
[12] Compare *Report*, p. 16.

The date of King Pravarasena II. whose name the above designation of the new capital was intended to preserve, cannot be fixed with accuracy. Various historical and numismatic indications, however, make it probable that he ruled about the middle of the sixth century. Thus we can easily understand that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit (A.D. 631) Śrīnagara or Pravarāpura was still the 'new city.'

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[13] For detailed references see note iii. 339-349.

Śrī-Pravarapure (for *Śrīpravarasenapure*) is often written in the abbreviated form *Śrīpre* in the formulas of the Lokaprakāśa, in almanacs, etc.

Kalhaṇa often uses the simple *Pura* for Pravarapura and *Nagara* for Śrīnagara.

Legend of foundation of Pravarapura :

92. The traditional account of the foundation of Pravarapura as recorded by Kalhaṇa is of considerable interest. Though largely interwoven with legendary matter it preserves for us a series of exact topographical data. Kalhaṇa's story is contained in verses 336-349 of the Third Book, and runs briefly as follows.[14]

When King Pravarasena II had returned from his victorious expeditions abroad, he desired to found a new capital which was to bear his name. He was then residing in the city of his grandfather, Pravarasena I., i.e. in Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.[15] From there the king went forth at night in order, as the text says, "to ascertain in a supernatural way the proper site and the auspicious time for the foundation of the new city." On his way he reached a stream which skirted a burning-ground, and was illuminated by the glow of funeral pyres.

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[14] For all detailed references in connection with this story, note iii. 339-349 should be consulted.

[15] That *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* is meant is proved by iii. 99.

There Kalhaṇa, speaking of a foundation of Pravarasena I. in his capital, by a kind of anachronism uses the designation of Purāṇādhiṣthāna.

Then on the other bank of the stream there appeared to him a demon of terrible form. Promising him fulfilment of his desire, the demon invited the king to cross over to his own side by the embankment he was preparing for him. Thereupon the Rākṣasa stretched out his own knee from the other bank, and thus caused the water of the *Mahāsarit* to be parted by an embankment (*setu*). The courageous Pravarasena drew out his dagger (*kṣurikā*), cut with it steps into the flesh of the Rākṣasa, and thus crossed over to the place which has since been known as *Kṣurikābala*. The demon then indicated to him the auspicious time and disappeared after telling him to build his town where he would see the measuring line laid down in the morning. This line (*sūtra*) of the Vetāla the king eventually discovered at the village of *Śārīṭaka* at which the goddess *Śārikā* and the demon *Aṭṭa* resided. There he built his city in which the first shrine erected was the famous one of Śiva PRAVARESVARA.

Keeping in view the details of the ancient topography of Srīnagar we can still follow up step by step the localities by which the legend here related leads King Pravarasena to the site of his new city We have already seen that the *Mahāsarit* is the stream, now known as *Tsūṇṭh Kul, which flows from the Ḍal into the Vitastā. Near its confluence with the Vitastā, which we have also found already mentioned as a Tīrtha, there existed until the times of Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh, a much-frequnted Hindu burning Ghāt. It was undoubtedly of ancient date. Kalhaṇa relates how the body of King Uccala, murdered in his palace at Śrīnagar, was hurriedly cremated at the burning place situated on the island at the confluence of the *Mahāsarit* and *Vitastā* [16] It is certain that the island of Māyᵊsum (Skr. Mākṣikasvāmin) is meant here, at the western end of which the Mahāsarit or Tsūṇṭh Kul falls into the Vitastā.

Setu :

The stream flowing from the Ḍal is bounded on its northern bank by an old embankment which stretches from the west foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān close to the high bank to the Vitastā near the Second Bridge. This embankment which is the most substantial around Śrīnagar and only known by the general designation of *Suth* (from Skr. SETU), 'dyke,' is undoubtedly of very early date. It protects the whole of the low-lying portions of the city on the right river-bank as well as the floating-gardens and shores of the *Ḍal* which would otherwise be exposed to annual inundations from the Vitastā. A tradition still heard by Mr. Vigne ascribed the construction of this embankment to King Pravarasena.[17] It is indeed evident that its construction was a necessary condition for the safety of the newly founded city.

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[16] See viii. 339. *Rather : tsūṇṭhⁱKwal

Several topographical indications warrant the conclusion that it was this old dyke in which the popular legend recorded by Kalhaṇa recognized the leg and knee of the demon. A glance at the map shows that the eastern portion of the 'Suth' turns sharply at right angle and thus curiously resembles a bent knee. KSURIKABALA was the name of the place where Pravarasena according to the legend was supposed to have reached firm ground after crossing the stream. I have shown that this name in the form of its Kaśmīrī derivative *Khuḍ^a^bal* still attaches to the city quarter which lies at the western end of the 'Suth.'[18] Finally it will be seen from the map that Kalhaṇa's words regarding the 'Setu' dividing the waters of the Mahāsarit describe exactly the present embankment which has on one side the Tsūṇth Kul, and on the other the various marshes and canals fed by the Mār. It has been shown above that this second outflow of the Ḍal also shared the old name of Mahāsarit.[19]

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[17] See VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 69.

Extent of Pravarapura :

93. The name of the village Śārīṭaka where the demon showed the king the proper site for his city, has long ago disappeared. Its position, however, is sufficiently marked by the mention of the goddess Śārikā. The latter, a form of *Durgā*, has since ancient times been worshipped on the hill which rises to the north of the central part of Śrīnagar and is it still called after her. The modern name of the hill, *Hārᵃparvat*, is the regular phonetic derivative of Skr. ŚARIKAPARVATA. By this name it is designated in the later Chronicles and Māhātmyas.[20]

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[18] See note iii. 339-349 (p. 101).

[19] Compare § 65.

Another passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī shows that the term *Vetālasūtrapāta*, 'the demon's measuring line.' clearly connected with the above legend, was also in later times applied to the limits of the oldest part of Pravarapura.[21] But our materials do not enable us to ascertain these limits in detail. Kalhaṇa, it is true, has not failed to specify them, as he mentions the temples of *Vardhanasvāmin* and *Viśvakarman* as marking the extreme ends of Pravarasena's city.[22] Unfortunately the position of neither of them can now be traced.

So much, however, is clear that the new city was at first confined to the right bank of the river. Kalhaṇa tells this distinctly,[23] and those sites and structures which he particularly mentions in his description of Pravarasena's capital, are all found, as far as they can be identified, on the right bank. The account of Hiuen Tsiang and the Tang Annals shows that even in the seventh century Pravarapura extended mainly along the eastern bank of the river.[24]

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[20] See note iii. 339-349 (p. 101).

Hār^{a} is the Kaśmīrī name of the goddess *Śārikā* as well as of the *Śārikā* bird (Maina); comp. BUHLER, *Report*, pp. 16 sq.

Panjābīs and other foreign visitors from India have by a popular etymology turned the 'Hill of Śārikā,' into the 'Hill of Hari (Viṣṇu),' or the 'Verdant Hill.' The latter interpretation could be justified only on the principle of *lucus a non-lucendo* ; for verdure is scarce indeed on the rocky faces of the Śārikāparvata. Dr. BERNIER already, *Travels*, p. 398, was told this popular etymology, no doubt by his friends from Delhi.

[21] See note vi. 191.

[22] iii. 357.

Description of Pravarapura :

Kalhaṇa follows up his account of the foundation of the new city with a brief description of its splendours.[25] He notes the extravagant story of its having once counted thirty-six lakhs of houses, and refers to the regularly arranged markets with which its founder provided it. The city of his own time still boasted of "mansions which reached to the clouds," built, no doubt, mostly of wood, just as the mass of private houses in modern Śrīnagar.[26]

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[23] iii 358.

[24] See above, §§ 9, 10.

[25] vii. 357-363.

[26] Both Mirzā Ḥaidar and Abū-l-Fazl speak admiringly of the many lofty houses of Śrīnagar, built of pine wood. This material was used then as now, as being cheap and more secure against earthquakes

When he mentions "the streams meeting, pure and lovely, at pleasure-residences and near market streets," he evidently means the numerous canals from the Ḍal and Anchʻar lakes which intersect the suburbs and also pass through the heart of the city. They and the river still serve as the main throughfares for the market traffic, and all principal Bazars are built along their banks.[27] The Śārikāparvata receives due mention as "the pleasure-hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from the sky." Nor does he forget to praise the cool water of the Vitastā which the citizens find before their very houses on hot summer days.

Finally he refers to the abundance of

According to Mirzā Ḥaidar "most of these houses are at least five stories high, and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries, and towers"; see *Tārīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, p. 425.

That the mass of private dwellings in Śrīnagar was already in Hindu times constructed of wood, is shown by Rājat. viii. 2390. The many disastrous fires recorded point to the same conclusion.

[27] Useful and convenient as these canals undoubtedly are, it is rather difficult to concede to them now the epithets of 'pure and lovely.' They add, however, greatly to the picturesqueness of the city, and certainly make the want of carriage roads less felt.

magnificent temples with which successive kings had adorned Pravarapura, and of which so many are particularly mentioned in his narrative. Of the number and imposing appearance of these structures we can even at the present day form some idea if we examine their massive remains which meet us in every part of modern Śrīnagar. The high embankments which now line the course of the river within the city, are mainly composed of carved slabs, columns and other ancient stone materials. Their profusion and imposing dimensions must impress even a superficial observer with an idea of the architectural splendour of ancient Śrīnagara.

Advantages of site of Śrīnagara :

94. It can scarcely be the result of chance that Pravarasena's city has escaped the fate of so many Indian capitals, of being superseded by later foundations. There had indeed not been wanting atempts on the part of later rulers to transfer the capital to other sites which they had chosen for their own cities. The great Lalitāditya, then Jayāpīḍa, Avantivarman, and Śaṁkaravarman, had successively indeavoured to effect this object. The great ruins of

Parihāsapura, Jayapura and Avantipura show sufficiently that the failure of the first three kings was not due in any way to deficient means or want of purpose.

Of Lalitāditya the Chronicle distinctly records that he proposed, Nero-like, to burn down the old capital to assure the predominance of his own creation, Parihāsapura. Yet each one of these temporary capitals speedily sank into insignificance, while Pravarapura has continued to be the political and cultural centre of Kaśmīr down to the present day.

We can safely attribute this exceptional position of Śrīnagar to the great natural advantages of its site. Occupying a place close to the true centre of the Valley, Śrīnagar enjoys facilities of communication which no other site could offer. The river along which the city is built, provides at all seasons the most convenient route for trade and traffic both up and down the Valley. The two lakes which flank Śrīnagar, offer the same facilities for the fertile tracts which lie immediately to the north. The lakes themselves furnish an abundant supply of products which materially contribute towards the maintenance of a large city population. The great trade-route from Central Asia debouches through the Sind Valley at a distance of only one short march from the capital.

Natural defences of Śrīnagara :

Nor can we underrate the security which the position of Śrīnagar offers both against floods and armed attack. The neck of high ground which from the north stretches towards the Vitastā and separates the two lakes, is safe from all possible risk of flood. It is on this ground, round the foot of the Śārikā hill, that the greatest part of the old Pravarapura was originally built. The ancient embankment which connects this high ground with the foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, sufficed to secure also the low-lying city-wards fringing the marshes of the Ḍal. A considerable area, including the present quarters of Khānᵃyār and Rān'vor (Skr. Rājānavāṭikā), was thus added to the available building ground on the right bank and protected against all ordinary floods.

The frequent sieges which Śrīnagar underwent during the last reigns related by Kalhaṇa, give us ample opportunity to appreciate also the military advantages of the position of the city. With the exception of the comparatively narrow neck of high ground in the north, the Śrīnagar of the right river-bank is guarded on all sides by water. On the south the river forms an impassable line of defence. The east is secured by the Ḍal and the stream which flows from it. On the west there stretch the broad marshes of the Anchⁱār close to the bank of the Vitastā.

From the north, it is true, the city can be approached without passing such natural obstacles. But the map shows that just to the north of the Śārikā hill inlets from the two lakes approach each other within a few thousand feet. The narrow passage left here could at all times easily be guarded. It is curious to note that all successful attacks on the city of which the Chronicle tells us, were delivered from the north, treachery or the defenders' weakness having opened this passage.[28]

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[28] Compare for Uccala's entry into Śrīnagar, vii. 1539 sqq. that of Sussala, viii. 944 sqq. compare also note viii. 1104-1110.

Extension of City to left bank :

The later and smaller portion of Śrīnagar occupying the left river-bank, does not share the same natural advantages as the old one. The ground on which it stands at present appears to have been raised gradually by the accumulated *débris* of centuries. We do not know exactly when the extension of the city in this direction began. The number of ancient sites on this side is comparatively small. The royal road residence was transferred to it only in the reign of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63). Here, too, we find a natural line of defence, It is the Kṣiptikā or Kuṭᵊkul which flows round the western edge of this part of the city and is also often mentioned in the accounts of the later sieges.

SECTION IV.—ANCIENT SITES OF SRINAGAR

Hill of *Śārikā* :

95. Having thus reviewed the origin and general position of the Kaśmīr capital, we may proceed to a brief survey of the more important ancient sites which we are able to identify in it. We can conveniently start on our circuit from the Hill of ŚARIKA to which the

legendary account of the city's foundation had taken us.

The goddess Śārikā which has given to the hill its name, has been worshipped since ancient times on the north-west side of the hill. Certain natural markings on a large perpendicular rock are taken by the pious as representing that kind of mystical diagram which in the Tantraśāstra is known as *Śrīcakra.*[1] This 'Svayaṁbhū' Tīrtha is still a much-frequented pilgrimage-place for the Brahmans of the City, and has been so probably since early times.[2] The Śārikāmāhātmya now in use relates that the hill was carried to its present position by Durgā, who had taken the shape of a Śārikā bird, and who used it to close a gate of hell. This legend is alluded to already in the Kathāsaritsāgara.[3]

Another ancient designation of the Hārᵃparvat is 'Hill of Pradyumna' (*Pradyumnāpīṭha, -giri, -śikhara*, etc.), often found in the Chronicles and elsewhere.[4] The Kathāsaritsāgara accounts for the origin of this name by a story which connects the hill with the love of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna. Kalhaṇa mentions a Maṭha for Pāśupata mendicants which King Raṇāditya built on the hill. The eastern slopes of the latter are now occupied by extensive buildings connected with the famous Ziārats of Muqaddam Ṣāhib and Ākhūn Mullā Shāh. It is probable that Muhammadan shrines have taken here the place of Hindu religious buildings, just as at so many old sites of Kaśmīr.

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[1] Compare note i. 122 regarding the worship of such diagrams.

[2] Compare *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 472, 767.

[3] See lxxiii. 107 sqq.

Close to the foot of the southern exteremity of the hill is a rock which has from ancient times received worship as an embodiment of Gaṇeśa, under the name of BHĪMASVĀMIN. A legend related by Kalhaṇa connects this 'Svayaṁbhū' image with Pravarasena's foundation of Pravarapura.[5] From regard for the pious King the god is said to have then turned his face from west to east so as to behold the new city. The rock is covered by the worshippers with so thick a layer of red paint that it is not possible to trace now any resemblance to the head of the elephantfaced god, still less to see whether it is turned west or east. In fact, if we are to believe Jonarāja, the rock-image has changed its position yet a second time. This Chronicler relates that Bhīmasvāmin from disgust at the iconoclasm of Sikandar Būtshikast has finally turned his back on the city.[6]

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[4] See note iii. 460.

[5] See note iii. 352.

There is nothing in the Chronicles that would lead us to assume that the Hill of Śārikā was ever fortified in Hindu times. The great bastioned stone-wall which now encloses the hill and the ground around its foot ('Nāgarnagar'), was built by Akbar,[7] as an inscription still extant over the main gate proclaims The fort which now crowns the summit of the hill, is of even more modern origin.

Temple of Śiva *Pravareśvara* :

96. A short distance to the S.E. of the Bhīmasvāmin rock and outside Akbar's fortress, lies the Ziārat of Bahāu-d-dīn Ṣāhib, built undoubtedly with the materials of an ancient temple. The cemetery which surrounds it contains also many ancient remains in its tombs and walls At the S.W. corner of this cemetery rises a ruined gateway, built of stone blocks of remarkable size, and still of considerable height. This structure is traditionally abelieved by the Śrīnagar Paṇḍits to have belonged to the temple of Śiva PRAVARESVARA which Kalhaṇa mentions as the first shrine erected by Pravarasena in his new capital.[8]

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[6] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 766.

[7] Compare Fourth Chron. 939 sqq.

An old legend, related by Kalhaṇa and before him already by Bilhaṇa, makes the king ascend bodily to heaven from the temple of Pravareśvara.[9] Bilhaṇa speaks of the temple as "showing to this day a gap above, resembling the gate af heaven, through which King Pravara bodily ascended to heaven." Kalhaṇa, writing a century later, also saw at the temple of Pravareśvara "a gate resembling the gate of heaven." Its broken stone roof was supposed to mark the king's passage on his way to Śiva's abode.

This tradition still attaches to the rooflelss stone-gate above described, which may, indeed, be the very structure seen by Bilhaṇa and the Chronicler. As far as its architecture is concerned, it might well belong to the earliest monuments of Śrīnagar. It owes its preservation probably to the exceptional solidity of its construction and the massiveness of its stones. Blocks measuring up to sixeeen feet in length, with a width and thickness equally imposing, were no convenient materials for the builders of Muhammadan Ziārats, Ḥammāms, etc., who have otherwise done so much to efface the remains of ancient structures in Śrīnagar. The position of the ruins is very central and might well have been chosen by the founder of Pravarapura for a prominent shrine in his new city.

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[8] See note iii. 350.
[9] See *Vikram*. xviii 28.

Position of *Raṇasvāmin* temple :

Not far from Bahāu-d-dīn Ṣāhib's Ziārat, to the S. W., stands the Jāmi' Masjīd, the greatest Mosque of Śrīnagar. Around it numerous ancient remains attest the former existence of Hindu temples. Proceeding still further to the S. W., in the midst of a thickly-built city-quarter, we reach an ancient shrine which has remained in a comparatively fair state of preservation probably owing to its conversion into a Ziārat. It is now supposed to mark the resting-place of the saint styled

Pīr *Ḥ*āji Mu*ḥ*ammad. It consists of an octagonal cella of which the high basement and the side - walls are still well-preserved. The quadrangular court in which it stands is enclosed by ancient walls and approached by ornamented gateways.

The position of this shrine has suggested to me its possible identity with the ancient temple of Vi*ṣṇ*u RANASVAMIN which Kalhaṇa mentions as founded by King Raṇāditya [10] This temple must have enjoyed considerable celebrity up to a comparatively late period. Ma*ṅ*kha refers to it as an object of his father's devotion, and Jonarāja in his comments on the passage speaks of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin as one of the chief shrines of Pravarapura.[11] The evidence on which the suggested identification is based has been fully indicated above in note iii. 453.

Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha :

97. Crossing the Mār to the south we reach the city-quarter known as Braḍmar, occupying the right bank of the river between the fourth and fifth bridge. It derives its name from the ancient BHATTARAKAMATHA which is repeatedly referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as a building of considerable size and strength.[12] Bilhaṇa, too, notices it specially in his description of Śrīnagara. Like other Maṭhas built originally to serve the purposes of a Sarai it was used on occasion as a place of defence. Queen Diddā sent her infant son there at the time of a dangerous rising. The Chronicle shows us often the Maṭhas of Śaīnagara, utilized as places of refuge in the times of internal troubles, occasionally also turned into prisons.[13] We may hence conclude that they were substantially built, probably like modern Sarais, in the form of detached quadrangles, and thus better adapted for defence than other city-buildings.

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[10] See iii. 453 sq.

[11] See *Śrīkaṇṭhacar*. iii. 68.

Diddāmaṭha :

That Maṭhas more than once left their names to the city-quarters in which they stood, is shown by the designations of other wards

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[12] See note vi. 240 ; viii. 2426 ; also *Vikram.* xviii. 11

For the derivation of *Braḍ*^{i}- from *Bhaṭṭāraka*, compare *Brārinambal* > *Bhaṭṭāranaḍvalā*, below, § 99. That Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha was the old name of this locality is known to the tradition of the Paṇḍits ; see BUHLER, *Report*, p. 16.

[13] Compare vi. 223 ; viii. 374, 1052, 230 .

Thus the large quarter of *Didᵃmar* which forms the western end of the city on the right river-bank, retains the name of the DIDDAMAṬHA.[14] It was built by Queen Diddā for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India. As a local name Diddāmaṭha meets us often in the later Chronicles. Above Didᵃmar we find near the Sixth Bridge the quarter of *Baladimar*.[15] It takes its name in all propability from the *Balāḍhyamaṭha* of the later Chronicles built by Balāḍhyacandra under King Rājadeva in the thirteenth century.[16]

Skandabhavana :

A little to the north of the sixth Bridge lies the Mahalla known by the name of ***Khandᵃbavan.*** It has received its appellation from the ancient Vihāra of SKANDABHAVANA, a foundation of Skandagupta whom Kalhaṇa mentions among the ministers of Pravarasena II 's successor Yudhiṣṭhira.[17] The site of the

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[14] See note vi. 300.

[15] The old name could not be shown on the map owing to want of space.

[16] See *Jonar*. 82.

[17] See iii. 380.

Vihāra has been traced by me in the close vicinity of the Ziārat of Pīr Muḥammad Bāsur. Certain ancient remains there were locally known and worshipped till the middle of the present century as a Tīrtha sacred to Skanda. Near the Skandabhavanavihāra there stood once the temple of Śiva *Parvaguptеśvara*, referred to by Kalhaṇa as a foundation of King Parvagupta.[18]

Immediately to the north-east of Khandᵉbavan there is now an open waste space used partly for Muhammadan graveyards. It seems to have been unoccupied already in old times. For it was chosen as the burning-place for the widows of the murdered king Sussala when a rebel force hovering around the capital rendered the usual burning-ground on the island of Mākṣikasvāmin inaccessible.[19]

The quarter of *Narvor* still further to the north is probably identical with old NADAVANA, mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the site of a Vihāra built by one of king Meghavāhana's queens. I have shown in my note on the passage that the modern name goes back to a form **Naḍavāṭa.*[20] The termination *-vāṭa*, 'garden,' frequent in the old local terminology of Kaśmīr, may safely be taken as the equivalent of *-vana* in Kalhaṇa's form of the name.

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[18] Compare Note *K*, vi. 137, on the site of the Vihāra.

[19] viii. 1441 sq.

Bridges of old Śrīnagara :

98 Before we continue our survey further up the river, it will be useful to make a brief reference to the bridges which connect the two river-banks within the city. Śrīnagar has now* seven bridges across the Vitastā. Their number has remained unchanged for at least five hundred years.

Already Sharīfu-d-dīn had heard that of the thirty boat-bridges constructed across the great river of Caśmīr there were seven in the town of Śrīnagar.[21] The boats were bound together by chains, and through the bridges a way could be opened for the river traffic. Sharīfu-d-dīn's notice is of interest, because it shows clearly that down to the end of the Hindu period permanent bridges across the Vitastā were unknown in Kaśmīr. I had been led to the same conclusion by an examination of the Rājataraṅgiṇī passages bearing on the subject.[22] Kalhaṇa distinctly says of the two bridges the construction of which he specially records, that they were built with boats. Elsewhere this inference may be drawn from the rapidity with which the bridges are broken at the approach of the enemy or in danger of fire.[23]

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[20] Compare note iii. 11. *Now more than seven.
[21] See *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 431.

Bṛhatsetu :

The first bridge of this kind is ascribed by Kalhaṇa to Pravarasena II. who built the 'Great Bridge' (*Bṛhatsetu*) in his new capital. "Only since then is such construction of boat-bridges known"[24] This 'Great Bridge' is subsequently mentioned in connection with a great conflagration which destroyed the city in the time of Sussala (A.D. 1123). This fire arose at the southern end of Śrīnagar, and Kalhaṇa mentions that the smoke first rising form Mākṣikasvāmin : Māyᵃsum had scarcely been noticed from the 'Bṛhatsetu' when the fire was already spreading over the whole city.[25] Kalhaṇa evidently refers here to the 'Great Bridge' as a comparatively distant point from Mākṣikasvāmin.

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[22] See note iii. 354.
[23] See vii. 909, 1539 ; viii. 1182 ; *Śrīv*. i. 308, 720 , ii. 70, 122.
[24] iii. 354.

Considering that the river forms an almost straight reach from this locality to the present Fourth Bridge, it appears to me likely that Pravarasena's bridge was somewhere in the vicinity of the latter. The position is in the very heart of the city. It is just here that Zainu-l-ābidīn subsequently constructed the first permanent bridge over the Vitastā named after him Zaina Kadᵊl (*Jainakadalḥ*).[26] Another old boat-bridge had been established by Harṣa just opposite his palace.[27] The latter, as we shall see, was situated on the left bank somewhere near the present Second Bridge (Haba Kadᵊl).

There can be little doubt that the first permanent bridge across the Vitastā was of wood and showed the same peculiar cantilever construction which is observed in the Kaśmīr bridges of our time. The latter have attracted the attention of all modern travellers and have hence often been described.[28] But it is curious that none of them can be traced back beyond the time of Zainu-l-'ābidīn. The explanation may lie in the fact that stone-architecture, in which the engineers of the Hindu period were so proficient, did not permit of the construction of bridges with sufficient span. For their Muhammadan successors working chiefly in wood it was easier to overcome this difficulty.

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[25] See note vii. 1171-72.

[26] See *Śrīv*. i. 231 sq., 296.

[27] vii. 1549.

Among the most characteristic features of the river-scene as it now presents itself within Śrīnagar, are the numerous wooden bathing cells moored before all city Ghāṭs. They have been there already in Hindu times For Kalhaṇa mentions more than once the *snānakoṣṭhas* of the river.[29] From a humorous sketch of city life which Kalhaṇa draws for us, we can see that they formed then, as now, the favourite meeting-place of the idle and curious.[30]

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[28] See e.g. VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. 23; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 37.

[29] Compare viii, 706, 1182, 2423.

Also Kṣemendra, *Samay*. ii. 38, knows the term *snānakoṣṭhaka* which lives in the present Ks. *śrānᵃkuṭh*.

[30] viii 706-710.

Eastern quarters of Śrīnagara :

Samudrāmaṭha :

99. Resuming our walk up the river-bank we pass the remains of more than one old temple near the present Ziārats of Bad̤ Sh̲āh (Zainu-l-ʻābidīn), Sh̲āh Hamadān, and elsewhere. But we have no data for their identification. An old site is marked by the present Ghāṭ Somᵃyār, below the Second Bridge, which represents the SOMATIRTHA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[31] The place is still visited as a Tīrtha, and some old Liṅgas are found by the riverside. The quarter in which the Somatirtha lies is known as *Sud̤ᵃrmar*. It owes its name to the SAMUDRAMATHA built by Samudrā, the queen of Rāmadeva, in the thirteenth century. The numerous passages in which the Samudrāmaṭha is mentioned by the later Chronicles, make this identification quite certain.[32] A little higher up, if we can turst local tradition, stood the ancient temple of VARDHAMANESA mentioned already in King Saṁdhimat's reign. The site so designated by the Purohitas of the adjoining Mahalla is close

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[31] See note viii. 3360.

[32] See *Jonar*. 111 ; *Śrīv*. iv. 121, 169, 290 ; Fourth Chron. 504, 618.

to the Malᵃyār Ghāṭ. I have referred already in a previous note to the curious manner in which an ancient Liṅga supposed to be that of Vardhamāneśa was recovered a few years ago from a neighbouring Mosque, and a Māhātmya composed for the newly-established shrine.[33]

Mārisamgama :

The confluence of the Tsūṇṭh Kul Mahāsarit with the Vitastā we have also already had occasion to notice.[34] It is the Tīrtha now known as MARISAMGAMA. Beyond it lies the great island of *Māyᵃsum*, the ancient MAKSIKASVAMIN, now chiefly occupied by the houses and camps of European residents and visitors. From the way it it referred to by Kalhaṇa, it appears that is was already partly inhabited in old times.[35] Following up the right bank of the Mahāsarit above the junction we reach the quarter of *Khuḍᵃbal* already identified with the KSURIKABALA of King Pravarasena's story.

Setu :

Here begins the old embankment of SETU,

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[33] See above, § 31.
[34] See above, § 65.
[35] See note iv. 88.

noticed in connection with the latter.[36] To the north of this embankment stretches an extensive marsh fed by canals coming from the Ḍal and known as *Brārinambal.* It is the BHAṬṬĀRAṆAḌVALA of the Chronicle into which the body of one of Harṣa's ministers was thrown after his execuiion.[37]

At the eastern end of the Setu where it joins the rocky foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, there has been for at least a century a gate through which the Tsūṇṭh Kul flows out from the lake. It is closed at times of flood when the Vitastā rises higher than the level of the Ḍal. It is highly probable that this gate is very old and co-eval with the construction of the embankment itself. Beyond it lies the suburb of *Drugᵊjan.* This is identified in an old gloss of the Rājataraṅgiṇī with DURGAGALIKA where according to tradition the blind King Yudhiṣṭhira was imprisoned after his abdication.[38]

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[36] Compare above, § 92.

[37] See vii. 1038. *Nambal*, from Skr. *naḍvalā*, is the regular Kś. word for marsh. *Bᵊāri* is a direct phonetic derivative of Skr. *bhaṭṭāra*, 'god'.

[38] See ii. 4.

Leaving the Setu where it makes its great bend and going north across low ground flanked by marshes, we reach the quarter of *Nāvᵉpūr.* The bridge which leads here over the Mār or Mahāsarit, is repeatedly mentioned as NAUPURASETU by *Śrīvara*, in connection with later sieges of *Śrīnagar*.[39] By breaking it, the south-eastern parts of the city were rendered more secure.

Rājanavāṭikā :

Continuing our route to the north we come to the great suburb of *Rān'vor.* It is traversed by numerous canals coming from the *Ḍal.* Kalhaṇa mentions it repeatedly by its ancient name of *Rājanavāṭikā* It was largely inhabited by Brahmans whose solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*) gave no small trouble to King Sussala in his worst straits.[40] Rān'vor has continued to the present day a favourite place of residence for city Brahmans.

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[39] See *Śrīv*. iv. 122, 243.

[40] See viii. 756, 768, 899. For the phonetic relation of *Rān'* < Skr. *Rājāna*, see note viii. 756 ;-*vor* is common in Kś. local names and derived from Skr. *vāṭa*, 'garden,' of which *vāṭikā* is a frequent diminutive.

Ancient sites of left river-bank :

100. We have now completed our circuit of the ancient city as far as it lay on the right bank of the river, and may proceed to the smaller and latter portion which occupies the left bank. Just opposite to the 'Mārīsaṁgama' stands the S͟hērgaṛhi, the modern palace of the Dogrā rulers. Its site was apparently first chosen by the Paṭhān governors for their fortified residence.

Immediately below the palace the Kuṭᵃkul or KSIPTIKA branches off from the river. We have already noticed its value as a line of defence for this part of the city.[41] The quarter of *Kāṭhūl* which lies between the Kuṭᵃkul and the river is of ancient date. It is mentioned as KASTHILA by Kalhaṇa and other writers, Bilhaṅa speaking of it particularly as a locality inhabited by Brahmans [42]

Site of Royal Palace :

At the northern end of the Kāṭhul quarter and close to the present Second Bridge, we must assume the palace of the later Hindu kings to have stood. Its position is indicated by an interesting passage of the Rājataranginī which informs us that King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) abandoned the palace of the former dynasties and transferred the royal residence to the vicinity of the shrine of SADASIVA.[43] The new site was adhered to by subsequent kings probably till long after Kalhaṇa's time. The mention of the Sadāśiva shrine and the frequent references to the Kṣiptikā as flowing near to the royal palace (*rājadhānī*) enable us to fix the position of the latter with fair accuracy. In the note on the above passage I have shown that the Sadāśiva temple lay opposite to the Samudrāmatha which occupies the right river-bank just below the Second Bridge. Exactly in the position thus indicated we find now an ancient Liṅga on the river Ghāṭ of Puruṣ yār which the tradition of the local Purohitas knows by the name of *Sadāśiva.*

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[41] See above, § 94.

[42] See note viii. 1169, and *Vikr m.* xviii. 25.

It is in this neighbourhood then that the palace stood which had witnessed so many tragic scenes related in the last two Books of

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[43] Compare viii 186-187, and for detailed evidence of the identification the note thereon.

Kalhaṇa's Chronicle Its great height is specially referred to by Bilhaṇa. This suggests that it was in part at least built of wood, just like a later palace described by Mirzā Ḥaidar.[44] "Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn built himself a palace in the town which in the dialect of Kashmir is called *Rājdān* [i.e. Skr *rājadhānī*] It has twelve storeys some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is buit of wood " This construction of the palace would well explain the rapidity with which it was burned down by the pretender Uccala on his final attack upon Harṣa.[45] We can thus also understand why there are no particularly striking remains at the site which could be attributed to the ruins of this royal residence.

Gardens near later palace :

The last-named incident gives Kalhaṇa occasion to mention also some other data regarding the royal palace Close to it was a garden in which Harṣa and his ill-fated son Bhoja enjoyed a deceptive rest before the rebels' last assault.[46] The gardens near the palace are also elsewhere mentioned. Harṣa had their trees cut down because they obstructed the view, and at a later time the besieging *Ḍā*maras fed their camp-fires with fuel brought from the same gardens.[47] Even at the present day there are numerous old gardens across the Kṣiptik*a* close to the site where the palace once stood. In front of the palace was the boat-bridge already mentioned which the king had himself constructed, and which was the scene of his last desperate struggle.[48]

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[44] See *Tārīkh-ı Rashīdī*, p. 429.

[45] See vii. 1565 sq. ; 1583.

The old palace :

Where the old palace stood which was abandoned by King Ananta, we cannot say with accuracy. It is, however, probable that its site was in the old part of Pravarapura on the right bank. Kalha*ṇa* mentions it twice (*purāṇarājadhānī*), but gives no particulars.[49] Its deserted ground was built over with a Maṭha in Kalhaṇa's own time.

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[46] vii. 1538 sqq.

[47] vii. 1223 ; viii. 1056.

[48] See vii. 1549, 1539.

[49] See viii. 837, 2417.

Though the embankments on the left side of the river as well as the walls of Ziārats, etc., show ample remains of ancient buildings, we have yet no means of identifying any particular sites. At the western extremity of this part of the city, however, we may locate with some probability the temple of *Kṣemagaurīśvara*, built by Queen Diddā's weak husband, Kṣemagupta. Bilhaṇa in his description of Śrīnagar mentions it as an imposing building, the 'Maṇḍapas' of which extended to a 'Saṃgama' of the Vitastā.[50] I have shown elsewhere that the confluence meant is probably that of the Vitastā with the Dugdhasindhu or Chats̱ᵊkul which lies opposite to the quarter of Diddāmaṭha.[51]

SECTION V.—THE ENVIRONS OF SRINAGARA

101 Having completed our survey of old Śrīnagara we may now proceed to examine the ancient sites of its environs. They are almost all situated to the north of the Vitastā within the Pargaṇa now known as *Phākh*, and designated *Phākhuvā* in

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[50] *Vikram.* xviii. 23.

[51] Compare note vi. 172-173.

Śrīvara's Chronicle.[1] It comprises the tract lying between the east shore of the Anch'ăr, the range towards the Sind Valley and the hills which enclose the Ḍal on the east and south. Owing to the facility of communication across the lake and the manifold attractions of its shores Phākh seems to have always been a favourite resort for the inhabitants of the capital. This fact is fully illustrated by the numerous places of ancient date which we find dotted around the lake.

The Gopa Hill (*Gopādri*):

Starting from its southernmost corner in the immediate vicinity of the city we come first to the hill popularly known as Takht-i Sulaimān. Its bold pyramidal form and the old temple which crowns its summit make this hill a most conspicuous object in the landscape of Śrīnagar.

The present name of the hill meaning 'Salomon's throne' is undoubtedly of Muhammadan origin, and its alleged derivation from *Saṁdhimat*, the saintly hero of a well-known legend recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, nothing bur an invention of the Bāchbaṭṭas of Śrīnagar.[2] That the ancient designation of the hill was GOPADRI is proved beyond all doubt by an interesting passage of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. It relates how the troops of the pretender Bhikṣācara when repulsed from the city which they had endeavoured to enter after crossing the Mahāsarit, i.e. from the south-east, took refuge on the 'Gopa Hill' or *Gopādri.*[3] There they were besieged by the royal troops until a diversion made by Bhikṣācara enabled them to retreat to the higher hills in the east by the low neck which connects these with the Takht-i Sulaimān.

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[1] *Śrīv*. iv. 306. The Lokaprakāśa writes *Phāgvā* while the modern Māhātmyas of Īśālaya or Iśᵃbar and Sureśvarī affect the term *Phālaka*.

Temple of *Gopādri :*

Kalhaṇa in the First Book of his Chronicle informs us that King Gopāditya built a shrine of Śiva Jyeṣṭheśvara on the Gopādri.[4] It is difficult not to connect this notice in some way with the extant temple which occupies so prominent a position on the summit of the hill. General Cunningham, it is true, on the strength of an alleged tradition had proposed to identify this temple with the Jyeṣṭharudra shrine which Kalhaṇa mentions as a foundation of Jalauka, Aśoka's son, in the ancient Śrīnagarī.[5] But Prof. Bühler has already shown that there is no genuine tradition regarding the temple among the Śrīnagar Brahmans.[6]

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[2] The name Takht-i Sulaimān is common enough in the local nomenclature of Muhammadan countries; compare, e.g., the peak of this name in the Sulaimān Koh, south of the Gumal Pass. The derivation from Samdhimat, referred to by Prof. BUHLER, *Report* p. 17, is not supported by any evidence whatever and unknown even to the most modern Māhātmyas.

[3] See note viii. 1104-10.

That the Takht-i Sulaimān was called by its ancient name Gopādri had been surmised already by P. Govind Kaul at the time of Prof. Buhler's visit, see *Report,* p. 17. But no decisive evidence was known to him.

It is certain that the superstructures of the present temple belong to a very late period.[7] But the massive and high base on which this temple is raised, and certain parts of the structure are no doubt of a far earlier date. These may well have formed part of a building which in Kalhaṇa's time,—rightly or wrongly, we have no means to judge,—was looked upon as a shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara erected by King

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[4] See note i. 341.

[5] i. 124; *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 95; also above, § 90.

[6] See *Report*, p. 17.

[7] See the remarks of FERGUSSON, *History of Indian Archit.*, p. 282, against Gen. Cunningham's and Major Cole's assumptions, who represented this temple as one of the earliest buildings in Kaśmīr.

Gcpāditya. There is no other ancient ruin on the hill. Nor would the configuration of the latter have admitted at any other point but the summit, of the construction of a shrine of any dimensions.[8] It is of interest to note that the tradition of Abū-l-Fazl's time distinctly attributed "the temple which now stands on Salomon's hill" to the time of Gopāditya.

Tīrtha of *Jyeṣṭheśvara* :

102. In Note C, i. 124, I have shown that an old tradition which can be traced back to at least the sixteenth century, connected the Takht Hill with the worship of Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra or by, another form of the name, JYESTHESVARA (Jyeṣṭheśa).[9] And we find in fact a Liṅga known by this name worshipped even at the present day at the Tīrtha of *Jyēṭhēr*, scarcely more than one mile from the east foot of the hill.

This Tīrtha, which undoubtedly derived its name from Jyeṣṭheśvara, lies in a glen of the hillside, a short distance from the east shore of the Gagri Bal portion of the Ḍal. Its sacred spring, designated in the comparatively modern Māhātmya as *Jyeṣṭhānāga*, forms a favourite object of pilgrimage for the Brahmans of Śrīnagar. Fragments of several colossal Liṅgas are found in the vicinity of Jyēṭhēr and show with some other ancient remains now built into the Ziārats of Jyēṭhēr and Gupᵒkār that the site had been held sacred from an early time. It is in this vicinity that we may look for the ancient shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra which Jalauka is said to have erected at Śrīnagarī. But in the absence of distinct archaeological evidence its exact position cannot be determined.

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[8] *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 383.

[9] Compare Fourth Chron. 592, 853, 806.

Gopāgrahāra:

Kalhaṇa in the same passage which mentions the erection of King Gopāditya's shrine on the 'Gopa Hill,' makes that prince bestow the GOPA-AGRAHARAS on Brahman settlers from Āryadeśa.[10] The combination of the two local names suggests that the fertile lands of the present *Gupᵃkār* are meant, between the north foot of the Takht hill and the Ḍal. The name Gupᵃkār may be, in fact, the direct phonetic derivative of the term used by Kalhaṇa.[11]

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[10] See i. 341. For *agrahāra* see note i. 87.

Bhūkṣīravāṭikā :

Our surmise is supported by the reference which Kalhaṇa in the verse immediately following makes to the village BHUKSIRAVATIKA. This place is identified by the old glossator A$_2$ with *Buch^{i}vor*, a small hamlet situated on the narrow strip of land at the rocky north-west foot of the Takht hill. The modern name is clearly derived from Kalhaṇa's form Gopāditya is said to have removed to this confined and secluded spot Brahmans who had given offence by eating garlic.

The combined mention of Gopādri, Gopāgrahāra and Bhūkṣīravāṭikā in i. 341 sq., suggests that Kalhaṇa has reproduced here local traditions collected from the sites immediately adjoining the hill. Whether the connection of these localities with King Gopāditya's reign was based on historical fact, or only an old popular etymology working upon the world *Gopa* found in the first two names, can no longer be decided.

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[11] *Gupu'kār* may go back to a form **Gupu'gār*, with assimilation of *g* to the preceding tenuis. In Kś. the hardenning of *g* to *k* is by no means unknown ; see Dr. GRIERSON'S note, *Z. D. M. G.*, l. p. 3. **Gup'agār* could easily be traced back to *Gopāgrahāra* through Pr. forms like **Gupagrār.*

Thedā :

Continuing our route along the eastern shore of the Ḍal we come at a distance of about one mile from Gup°kār to the large village of *Thīd*, prettily situated amid vineyards and orchards. It is the THEDA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, mentioned as one of the places which the pious king Saṁdhimat or Āryarāja adorned with Maṭhas, divine images, and Liṅgas.[12] Abū-l-Fazl speaks of Thīd as "a delightful spot where seven springs unite ; around them are stone buildings, memorials of bygone times."[13] The remains here alluded to can no longer be traced, but the seven springs (*Saptapuṣkariṇī*) which are also referred to in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi (iv. 40 sqq.), are still pointed out.

The cluster of villages which we reach about one and a half miles beyond Thīd, and which jointly bear the name *Brān*, can be safely identified with BHIMADEVI which Kalhaṇa notices along with Thedā. The Nīlamata knows the sacred site of Bhīmadevī in conjunction with the Sureśvarī Tīrtha which we shall next visit, and in the Haracaritacintāmaṇī it is named with the Seven Springs of Thedā. The Tirtha of Bhīmādevī is no longer known, but may be located with some probability at the fine spring near *Dāmpor* marked now by a Muhammadan shrine.

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[12] See note ii. 135.

[13] *Aīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 361

Tīrtha of *Sureśvarī*:

103. A sacred site of far greater fame and importance is that of the present village of *Iśᵊbar* which lies about two miles further north on the *Ḍal* shore and a little beyond the Mughal garden of Nishāt. The site was known in ancient times as *Sureśvarīkṣetra* ('the field of Sureśvarī').[14] It was sacred to Durgā Sureśvarī who is still worshipped on a high crag rising from the mountain range to the east of Isᵊbar village. The seat of the goddess is on a rugged rock, some 3000 feet above the village, offering no possible room for any building.

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[14] Compare for *Sureśvarī* and the site of Iś'abar, note v. 37.

The numerous shrines erected in her honour were hence built on the gently sloping shore of the lake below. The Tīrtha of Sureśvarī is often referred to in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle and Kaśmīrian texts as a spot of exceptional holiness. It was particularly sought by the pious as a place to die in. The pilgrimage to Sureśvarī is connected with visits to several sacred springs in and about Iś°bar. One of them, *Śatadhārā*, is already mentioned by Kṣemendra.[15] It is passed in a narrow gorge some 1500 feet below the rock of Sureśvarī

Temple of *Īśeśvara*:

Iś°bar derives its present name from the shrine of ISESVARA which King Saṁdhimat-Āryarāja according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī erected in honour of his Guru *Īśā*na.[16] An earlier form, *Iś°bror*, which is found in an old gloss of the Chronicle and which was evidently heard also by Abū-l-Fazl, helps to connect Iś°bar and *Īśe*śvara.[17] Iś°bar is still much frequented as a pilgrimage place. The chief attraction is a sacred spring known as *Guptagaṅga* which fills an ancient stone-lined tank in the centre of the village. This conveniently accessible Tīrtha is the scene of a popular pilgrimage on the Vaiśākhī day and has fairly obscured the importance of the mountain seat of Sureśvarī. A ruined mound immediately behind the tank is popularly believed to mark the site of the *Īśeś*vara shrine. Numerous remains of ancient buildings are found around the sacred springs and else-where in the village They probably belong to the various other temples, the erection of which is mentioned by Kalhaṇa at the site of Sureśvarī.[18]

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[15] See *Samay*. ii. 29.

[16] See note ii. 134.

[17] *-bar* is a modern contraction for Kś.-*bror*, from Skr. *bhaṭṭāraka*, in Kaśmīr local names has often taken the place of its synonym *-iśvara*; comp. e. g. Skr. *Vijayeśvara* >Kś. *Vij'abror*.

Ṣaḍarhadvana :

Passing round the foot of the ridge on which Suresvarī is worshipped, we come to the small village of *Hārvan* which the old glossator of the Rājataraṅgiṇī identifies with SADARHADVANA ('the wood of the Six Arhats'). This place is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the residence of the great Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna.[19]

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[18] See v. 37, 40 sq. ; viii. 3365

[19] See note i. 173.

The name Hārvan may well be derived from Ṣaḍarhadvana, but in the absence of other evidence the identification cannot be considered as quite certain. On the hillside south of the village remarkable remains of ancient ornamented brickpavements have come to light on occasion of excavations made for the new Śrīnagar waterworks.

Tīrtha of *Tripureśvara* :

Proceeding further up the valley of the stream which comes from the Mār Sar lake, we reach, at a distance of about three miles from the Ḍal, the village of *Triphar*. Evidence I have discussed elsewhere. makes it quite certain that it is the ancient TRIPURESVARA[20] The latter is repeatedly mentioned as a site of great sanctity by Kalhaṇa as well as in the Nīlamata and some older Māhātmyas; but it has long ago ceased to be a separate pilgrimage place. A little stream known as the *Tripuragaṅgā* near Triphar is, however, still visited as one of the stations on the Mahādeva pilgrimage.

Kṣemendra in the colophon of his Daśāvatāracarita refers to the hill above Tripureśa as the place where he was wont to find repose and where he composed his work. In Zainu-l-'ābidin's time Tripureśvara seems yet to have been a Tīrtha much frequented by mendicants.[21] Tripureśvara, too, possessed its shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara, and to this King Avantivarman retired on the approach of death.[22]

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[20] Compare note v. 46.

Mount *Mahādeva*:

The whole mountain-ridge which stretches to the south of Triphar and along the Ḍal, bore in ancient times the name of ŚRIDVARA.[23] On the opposite side of the valley rises the bold peak of MAHADEVA to a height of over 13,000 feet. Numerous references to it in the Nīlamata, Śarvāvatāra and other texts show that it was in old times just as now frequented as a Tīrtha

We may now again descend the valley towards the north shore of the Ḍal. On our way we pass close to Hārvan the village of Tsatsa where the convenience of modern worshippers has located a substitute for the ancient Tīrtha of the goddess *Śāradā* (see below, § 127). Leaving aside the famous garden of S͟hālimār of which our old texts know nothing[24] we come to a marshy extension of the *Ḍ*al known as Tēl°bal. The stream which flows through it and which forms a branch of the river coming from the Mār Sar, bore the old name of *Tilaprasthā.*[25]

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[21] See *Śrīv*. i. 402.

[22] See note v. 123.

[23] See viii. 2422.

Hiraṇyapura :

104. The route which takes us from Tēl bal to the mouth of the Sind Valley is the same which was followed by the pretender Bhikṣācara and his rebel allies on a march to Sureśvarī described in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[26] The narrow embankment on which they fought and defeated the royal troops, leads across the Tēl°bal marshes.

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[24] The first reference to this somewhat overpraised locality I can find, is by Abū-l- Fazl who mentions the waterfall or rather cascades of 'S͟hālamār'; see ii. p 361. We might reasonably expect that Jonarāja and Srīvara in their detailed accounts of the Ḍal would have mentioned the place if it had then claimed any importance.

[25] See note v. 46 ; *Śrīv.* i. 421.

[26] See note viii. 744.

At the south foot of the ridge which descends to the opening of the Sind Valley, we find the village of *Ranyıl*, the ancient HIRANYAPURA.[27] The place is said by Kalhaṇa to have been founded by King Hiraṇyākṣa. As it lies on the high road from the Sind Valley to Śrīnagar it is repeatedly mentioned also in connection with military operations directed from that side aganist the capital. The victorious Uccala, when marching upon Śrīnagar, had the Abhiṣeka ceremony performed *en-route* by the Brahmans of Hiraṇyapura. It seems to have been once a place of importance, since it figures in a fairy-tale of the Kathāsaritsāgara as the capital of Kaśmīr.[28] A spring a little to the south of the village is visited by the pilgrims to the Haramukuṭagaṅgā and bears in the Māhātmyas the name of *Hiraṇyākṣanāga*.

Juṣkapura :

From near Ranyil several old watercourses radiate which carry the water of the Sind River to the villages lying between the Anch'ār and Ḍal lakes. One of these canals passes the village of *Zukur*. A tradition recorded already by General Cunningham identifies this place with the ancient JUSKAPURA. Kalhaṇa names the place as a foundation of the Turuṣka (i.e. Kuṣana) King Juṣka who also built a Vihāra there.[29] The Muhammadan shrines and tombs of the village contain considerable remains of ancient buildings.

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[27] For detailed references, see note i. 287.

[28] See *Kathās*. lxv. 215 sqq.

Amareśvara :

To the west of Juṣkapura, and on the shore of the Anch'ār, lies the large village of Amburhér. It is the ancient AMARESVARA often mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī in connection with military operations to the north of Śrīnagar.[30] This is easily accounted for by the fact that the place lay then as now on the high road connecting the Sind Valley with the capital. It took its name from a temple of Śiva Amareśvara which Sūryamatī, Ananta's queen, endowed with Agrahāras and a Maṭha. The ancient slabs and sculptured fragments which I found in 1895 in and around the Ziārat of Farrukhzād Sāhib, may possibly have belonged to this temple.

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[29] See note i. 168 ; *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 101.
[30] See note vii. 183.

Continuing on the road towards Śrīnagar for about two miles further we come to the large village of Vicār Nāg, prettily situated, among extensive walnut groves. A fine Nāga near the village forms the object of a popular Yātrā in the month of Caitra. It is held to be a manifestation of the Ailāpattra Nāga who is mentioned also in the Nīlamata. An earlier designation seems to be MUKTAMULAKANAGA which is given to the locality by Śrīvara and in the Tīrthasa*m*graha.[31] To the west of the village and near an inlet of the Anch^{i}ār are the ruins of three ancient temples now converted into Ziārats and tombs.[32]

Amṛtabhavana :

Only a quarter of a mile to the east of Vicār Nāg and on the other side of the old canal called Lach^{a}m Kul (*Lakṣmīkulyā), stands the hamlet of *Ant^{a}bavan.* In my "Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kaśmīr" I have proved that Ant^{a}bavan derives its name from the ancient Vihāra of AMRTABHAVANA which

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[31] See *Śrīv*. iv.65.

[32] Compare for these remains COLE, *Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, p. 31.

Amṛtaprabhā, a queen of Meghavāhana, is said to have erected.[33] Ou-k'ong mentions the Vihāra by the name of *Ngo-mi-t'o-po-wan* which represents a transcribed Prakrit form *Amitabhavana or *Āmitabhavana. An ancient mound with traces of a square enclosure around it which is found between the canal and the hamlet, may possibly belong to the remains of this Vihāra.

Tīrtha of *Sodara*:

Proceeding to the east of Āntᵃbavan for about a mile we come to the large village of *Sudarᵃbal* situated on a deep inlet of the Ḍal known as *Sudarᵃ khun.* The name of the village and the neighbouring portion of the lake make it very probable that we have to place here the sacred spring of SODARA.[34] An ancient legend related by Kalhaṇa represented this spring as an Avatāra of the Sodara Nāga worshipped originally near the sacred site of Bhūteśvara below Mound Haramukuṭa[35]

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[33] See note iii. 9 and *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 9 sqq.

[34] See note i. 125-126. Kś *-bal* in Sudrᵃbal means merely place.

[35] For this *Sodara* the present Nārān Nāg, see notes i. 123; v. 55-59.

Close to the mosque of Sudarᵃbal and by the lake-shore are two pools fed by perennial springs. These, according to a local tradition, were in old times visited by numerous pilgrims. Now all recollection of this Tīrtha has been lost among the Brahmans of Śrīnagar. But the name of a portion of the village area, *Baṭṭᵃpor*, points to a former settlement of Baṭṭas or Purohitas. It is curious, too, that we find only half a mile from the village the Ziārat of *Ḥ*azrat Bal, perhaps the most popular of all Muhammadan shrines in the Valley. It is supposed to be built over the remains of the miracle-working Pīr Dastagīr Sāhib. Is it possible that the presence of the rather ubiquitous saint at this particular spot had something to do with the earlier Hindu Tīrtha ?

SECTION VI — NORTHERN AND EASTERN DISTRICTS OF MADAVARAJYA

105. Our circuit through the Phākh Pargaṇa has brought us back to the purlieus of the capital. We must leave them now once more and start on our tour through the outlying districts. We may direct it first to the upper half of the Valley, the ancient Maḍavarājya. This again is divided by the Vitastā into two portions, one to the north-east, the other to the south-west of the river. We shall begin with the Parganas on the right bank, starting from Śrīnagar.

District of *Khaḍūvī* :

The Pargaṇa which adjoins Śrīnagar from the south-east, is now known as *Vihī*. It extends from near Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna to the Vast^arvan spur near Vāntⁱpor (Avantipura) and comprises a wide semicircular tract of fertile Karēwa lands. In ancient times the district took its name from the village of KHADUVI, the present *Khruv*.[1] The Ḍāmaras of the *Khaḍūvī* district are repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa along with those of Holaḍā the modern Vular Pargaṇa.

The site of Pāndrēṭhan or Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna has already been fully noticed. About two miles higher up the river lies Pānd^achuk village with some ancient remains and traces of a stone bridge-head, probably of late date. The old name of the place is unknown. We pass next by the river the village of *Simpor*. This may retain the name of Si*m*hapura founded by King Jayasi*m*ha in Kalhaṇa's time.[2]

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[1] Compare note viii. 733.
[2] See note viii. 2443.

Jayavana :

Less than two miles to the north-west of Simpor lies the village of *Zevan*, the ancient JAYAVANA. It was correctly identified already by Prof. Bühler on the basis of the happy and exact description given of it by Bilhaṇa.[3] The poet mentions in this "place of high-rising monuments" the "pool filled with pure water, sacred to Takṣaka, lord of snakes." This pool still exists in the Takṣaka Nāga which is visited annually by the pilgrims to Harṣeśvara.[4] The mention made by Kalhaṇa in his story of Narapura of the pilgrimage to the Takṣaka spring proves that in old times it must have enjoyed great reputation as a separate Tīrtha. It is, in fact, the only Kaśmīr Nāga which is distinctly mentioned in the Tīrtha list of the Mahābhārata (III lxxxii. 90). Abū-l-Fazl records the interesting fact that this spring was popularly held to be the place whence the cultivation of saffron flourishing in this neighbourhood originated.[5] In Akbar's time the cultivators, undoubtedly Muhammadans, still worshipped at this fountain at spring time. It was customary to pour cow's milk into it to secure a good omen for the success of the crop. We see that the Takṣaka Nāga long retained his importance as a local divinity with the cultivators.

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[3] Compare *Report*, pp. 5 sq my note vii. 607 ; *Vikram*. xviii. 70

[4] See note i. 220.

[5] See *Aīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 358.

Khonamuṣa :

About two miles to the north-east of Zevan we come on gently rising ground to the village of *Khun*^{a}*moh.* It is, as already stated above, the ancient KHONAMUSA, famous as the birthplace of Bilhaṇa. The latter in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita gives an enthusiastic description of the charms of his home.[6] The saffron-field which Bilhaṇa mentions, extends close to the lower of the two separate hamlets which form the village. In the upper hamlet is a sacred spring called Dāmodaranāga with some sculptured funeral Steles and a few fragmentary inscriptions. On the hillside above the village issues another Nāga which under the name of *Bhuvaneśvarī* is visited on the pilgrimage to HARSESVARA. The latter Tīrtha lies on the summit of the high ridge which rises to the north of the village. It consists of a 'Svayaṁbhū' Liṅga situated in a small cave and enjoys considerable popularity. I have not been able to trace its name except in the local Māhātmya and the Tīrthasaṁgraha.

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[6] For a detailed and accurate account of the position and remains of Khonamuṣa, see Prof. BUHLER'S *Report*, pp 5 sq.

The identity of Khun'amoh with the Khonamuṣa of Rājat. i. 90 was first pointed out by Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr.*, p. 98.

The chief place of the Vihī Pargaṇa is now the town of *Pāmpar*, the ancient PADMAPURA,[7] about four miles south-west of Khunᵃmoh. It was founded in the beginning of the ninth century by Padma, the powerful uncle of the puppet-king Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa. Padma is said by the Chronicle to have also built a temple of Viṣṇu-Padmasvāmin. To this may possibly have belonged the scanty remains of an ancient temple which have been described by General Cunningham.[8] Close by is the Ziārat of Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī with some fine ancient columns and ornamented slabs which are likely to have been taken from this temple. Also the other Zīārats of the town show similar remains. Padmapura owing to its central position in a fertile tract seems to have always been a place of importance and is often mentioned by Kalhaṇa and the later Chroniclers.

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[7] For a detailed notice see note iv. 695.

The old name of the place is well known to Śrīnagar Paṇḍits; VIGNE, too, *Travels*, ii. p. 31, recognized it correctly.

[8] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 274.

Proceeding north-eastwards of Padmapura we pass first *Bāl*^{a}*hom*, a large village, which in the Lokaprakāśa and Tīrthasaṁgraha figures as BALASRAMA. Under a large Deodar near it Bālādevī is now worshipped in the form of an old stone-image. Numerous ancient Steles, showing miniature reproductions of temples, are found in the neighbouring rivulets and canals. They were apparently used in recent times as stepping-stones, which would account for their preservation. At the foot of a rocky spur which descends from the mountain-range to the north, lies the picturesque village of *Uyan*, once mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the name of OVANA[9]. It has a large sulphurous spring visited by the sick.

Khaḍūvī :

About two miles further east we reach the village of *Khruv*, the ancient KHAḌUVI which as we have seen, gave to the district its former name. There is an abundance of fine springs in and about Khruv; Abū-l-Fazl mentions them as objects of worship and estimates their number at 360.[10] Above the village a so-called 'Svayaṁbhū-cakra' or mystical diagram is shown on a rock.[11] It is held sacred to Jvālāmukhī -Durgā and largely visited by pilgrims. I am, however, unable to trace any old referencs to this Tīrtha.

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[9] vii. 295.

Śanāra:

Only a mile to the south-east of Khruv is the village of *Śār*, until recently the seat of a flourishing iron-industry. Kalhaṇa mentions it by the name of ŚANAKA as an Agrahāra founded by King Śacīnara.[12] Whatever the historical value of his notice may be which Kalhaṇa took from Padmamihira, the evidence detailed in my note on the passage proves that the present Śār is intended. An intermediate form of the name is preserved in the Śnār of an old gloss. The Ziārat of K͟hwājaK͟hizar which stands here near several small springs, is built with remains of a Hindu temple.

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[10] *Āīn-i-Akb.*, ii. p. 358.

[11] Compare for such diagrams, also designated *devīcakra* or *mātṛcakra*, note i. 122.

[12] See note i. 100.

About two miles south-west of Śār are found the well-preserved ruins of a temple near the village of *Ladu* (not marked on Survey map). They have been described by Bishop Cowie,[13] but I am unable to trace any old reference to this shrine in the texts I have examined. It is remarkable for having a circular cella, the only one known to me in Kaśmīr. A small square cella to the east of this temple has been annexed to a neighbouring Ziārat.

Near the south end of the Vihī Pargaṇa and on the bank of the Vitastā lies the village of *Latᵊpor*. An old gloss of the Rājataraṅgiṇī identifies it with LALITAPURA, a place founded in honour of King Lalitāditya by his architect.[14] The king, according to the Chronicle, was not pleased with the attention; in any case no importance seems to have attached to the place. There are no old remains above ground, but the local tradition still knows of King 'Laltādit' as the founder of a large town on the neighbouring Uḍar.

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[13] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, pp. 97 sqq.

[14] See iv. 186.

District of *Holaḍā* :

106. Passing round the foot of Mount Vast^{a}rvan we enter the Pargaṇa of *Vular*, the ancient HOLADA. This identification is supported, apart from the clear evidence of the modern name, by all passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which mention Holaḍā.[15] Its feudal barons played a great part in the troubled times of the later Hindu reigns.

Avantipūra :

Its most important place in old times was undoubtedly the town of AVANTIPURA founded by King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883).[16] Its position is marked by the present village of *Vānt^{i}por* on the Vitastā. The conspicuous ruins of this place attracted already the attention of the early European visitors. General Cunningham did not fail to recognize in them the remains of the two great temples of

[15] See note i. 306.

[16] See note v. 45 sq.
Its identity with Vānt^{i}por was first pointed out by Dr. WILSON in his note on Moorcraft's *Travels*, ii. p. 244.

Avantisvāmin and *Avantīśvara* which Avantivarman built here.[17] Of the two great ruins one is at Vānt'por itself, the other and larger one half a mile further down the river close to the hamlet of Jaubrār (map 'Jabair'). Owing to the complete destruction of the central shrines it is impossible to ascertain now which was dedicated to Viṣṇu and which to Śiva. The fine enclosing quadrangles of the temples have also suffered badly. That of Avantisvāmin was used as a temporary fortification in Kalhaṇa's own time and underwent a severe siege.[18]

The site on which Avantivarman's town was built, had apparently enjoyed some sanctity before these temples were founded, and bore the old name of *Viśvaikasāra.* The great extent of the town is indicated by the traces of ruined buildings which cover the foot of the hills east of Vānt'por for a considerable distance. The frequent references to Avantipura in the Chronicles show that the town retained importance long after the death of its founder.

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[17] See for a full description, *J.A.S.B.,* 1848, pp. 275 sqq., also *ib.* 1866, 121 sqq.

[18] See viii. 1429 sq., 1474 sqq.

Other old sites in *Holaḍā* :

We hear but little of other old sites in Holaḍā The great town of *Mihirapura* which King Mihirakula is said to have founded in it, can no longer be traced.[19] *Khuli*, a village situated a short distance to the south-west of Trāl, the modern headquarters of the tract, may possibly be the KHOLA of the Chronicle, one of Gopāditya's Agrahāras.[20] Of Trāl I am unable to trace any old notice. The identification of the village of *Būts*, about two miles south of Khuli, with the old BHAVACCHEDA is also uncertain.[21] It is based on a gloss of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, the writer of the codex archetypus. Still further south lies the village of *Kai*, probably the old KATIKA named by Kalhaṇa as a foundation of Tunjīna I.[22] This identification is made in the old gloss of the passage and supported by the phonetic evidence of the modern name.

Of old remains in Vular the interesting of *Nārastān* at the northern extremity of the district (34° 2′ lat. 75° 10′ long.) deserves notice.[23] Unfortunately I am unable to find any clue as to its old name or history. Excavations made by me at the site in 1891 brought to light interesting sculptures, but no evidence as to its name. The large village of Sutur (map 'Sootoor') to the south-west of Nārastān may possibly account for the entry *Satrava* in the Lokaprakāśa's list of Parganas.

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[19] See i. 306.
[20] See note i. 340.
[21] Compare note iii. 340.
[22] Rājat. ii. 14.

District of *Dakṣiṇapāra* :

107. The eastern boundary of Vular is marked by the high spur which descends from the north towards the confluence of the Vitastā and Gambhīrā. The adjoining district to the east is one of considerable extent. It comprises besides the whole right or western side of the Lid^a^r Valley, also the low-lying tract between fhe Vitastā and the lower course of the Viśokā. The modern name of this great Pargaṇa is *Dachünpōr* which appears in Śrīvara's Chronicle as DAKSINAPARA. This clearly means 'the right bank [of the Ledarī or Lid^a^r].' Another form of the same significance, is

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[23] See Mr. LAWRENCE'S notice, *Valley*, p. 172 (reproduced from BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 290). The attached photograph shows the site after my excavations. Regarding the result of the latter, see ***Vienna*** *Oriental Journal*, 1891, pp. 346 sqq.

Dakṣiṇapārśva found in the Lokaprakāśa and Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya. To this designation corresponds the term *Vāmapārśva*, now Khōvurpōr, which, as we shall see, is applied to the left site of the Lidᵊr Valley.[24]

The junction of the Vitastā with the Gambhīrā, i.e the united Viśokā and Ramaṇyāṭavī, has already been mentioned above as a Tīrtha.[25] Not far from it lies the village of *Marhōm* on the Vitastā, mentioned by Jonarāja under its old name of MADAVASRAMA.[26] The first part of the name is identical with that of *Maḍavarājya*

About two miles south-east of Marhōm and not far from the Vitastā, we find the village of Vāg·hom. with a sacred spring known by the name of HASTIKARNA. This name seems to have applied formerly to the place itself which we find thus twice referred to by Kalhaṇa.[27] It is possibly the Hastikarṇa, where Bhoja, Harṣa's son, was treacherously murdered.

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[24] General CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 94, assumes that Kś. *dachun*, "right," is 'now used to denote the "north," and *Kāwar* [recte *Khovur*] or the "left" to denote the "south." This assumption, however, as well as the explanation given for the alleged change of meaning, are based on a misunderstanding.

[25] See § 64.

[26] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ad.), 132.

Temple of *Cakradhara*:

About one mile to the south of Hastrikaṇa the Vitastā makes a great bend. The peninsula thus formed is occupied by a small 'Uḍar' or alluvial plateau which owing to its height and isolated position is a very conspicuous object in the landscape. It was once the site of one of the oldest and most famous shrines of the Valley, the temple of Viṣṇu CAKRADHARA. The plateau is still known as *Tsakᵃdaʳ* Uḍar.[28] Brahman tradition is aware of the derivation of this name from Cakradhara. It was first brought to the notice of European scholars by Prof. Bühler who had duly recognized the antiquarian importance of the site.[29]

Siege of Cakradhara:

The shrine of Cakradhara is often mentioned as a Tīrtha of great sanctity.[30] It was also closely connected with the legends regarding the burnt city of Narapura, localized, as we shall see, in its close vicinity. But the only detailed notice of the temple we owe to a historical incident which took place there during the civil wars of Sussala's reign.[31] The royal troops having been forced to evacuate the neighbouring town of Vijayeśvara or Vijᵊbrōr, the inhabitants of the latter place and of the neighouring villages took refuge in the temple of Cakradhara. This by its position on the high and steep Uḍar was naturally well adapted for defence. The temple filled by the crowds of fugitives and routed soldiers, was soon besieged by the rebel troops of Bhikṣācara. The temple courtyard was protected by massive wooden ramparts and gates. When these had been set on fire by the assailants a mighty conflagration ensued in which the whole mass of people inside perished. Kalhaṇa vividly describes this great catastrophe which he believes to have provoked divine vangeance, and thus to have brought about the downfall of the pretender.

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[27] See note v. 23; also vii 1650.
Another Hastikarṇa, mentioned by Śrīvara, i. 441, seems to have been near Śrīnagar on the west.

[28] See notes i. 38, 201.

[29] See *Report*, p. 18.

[30] See *Rājat.* vii. 258, 261, 269; *Jonar.* (Be. ed.), 763. *Śrīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 12; *Nīlamata*, 1170.

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[31] See viii. 971-995.

The date of the burning of Cakradhara seems to have been the twelfth Srāvaṇa *śudi*, A.D. 1121.

The account here given is of topographical interest. It shows that the temple actually stood on the flat top of the Uḍar, and at the same time explains the scarcity of stone remains in this locality. The absence of conspicuous ruins had already been noticed by Prof. Bühler. At the northern end of the Uḍar, however, which is separated from the rest by a dip in the ground, the outlines of a quadrangular enclosure, can still be traced in regular rows of hollows. These hollows may possibly be the last indications of the wooden ramparts which enclosed the shrine.

The temple seems to have been subsequently restored, and Jonarāja mentions the statue of Cakradhara among those chief divine images which Sikandar Būtshikast destroyed.[32] Jayadratha in his Haracaritacintāmaṇī devotes a separate canto (vii.) to the relation of the legend which localized the god wielding the disc (*cakra*) at the Tīrtha of Cakradhara. The latter is still referred to in a general way in the old Vijayeśvaramāhātmya. Now, however,

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[32] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 763. *Butshikan (Ed.)

Cakradhara is no longer visited as a Tīrtha, though the Purohitas of Vijayeśvara still retain a recollection of the former sanctity of the site.

Legend of *Narapura* :

108. There can be no doubt that at the foot of the Cakradhara Uḍar there stood once an ancient town of considerable importance. From the low ground towards the river and from the river-bed itself, ancient coins reaching back to Greek and Indo-Scythian rule are annually extracted in considerable quantities. Popular tradition still asserts that this site was once occupied by a great town. This tradition existed already in the time of Kalhaṇa who records it in the interesting legend of Narpura.[33] This is told at great length in a poetic episode of the First Book.

King Nara is said to have founded a splendid capital, called after himself NARAPURA, on the sandy bank of the Vitastā close to the shrine of Cakradhara "There in a grove was a pond of limpid water, the habitation of the Nāga Suśravas." A young Brahman who had found occasion to assist the Nāga and his two daughters when in distress, was allowed to marry in reward one of the latter. He lived in happiness at Narapura until the beauty of the Nāga lady excited the passion of the wicked king. When Nara found his advances rejected, he endeavoured to seize the beautiful Candralekhā by force. The couple thereupon fled for protection to their father's habitation.

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[33] See i. 201-274.

Destruction of Narapura:

The Nāga then rose in fury from his pool and "burned the king with his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts." Thousands of people were burned before the image of Viṣṇu Cakradhara, to which they had fled for protection. Ramaṇyā, the Nāga's sister, came down from the mountains carrying along masses of rocks and boulders. These she dropped, as we have seen, along the bed of the Ramaṇyāṭavī or Rembyār^{a} stream, when she found that Suśravas had already wreaked his vengeance. The Nāga himself feeling remorse at the carnage he had caused, removed to a lake on a far-off mountain. There "he is to the present day seen by the people on the pilgrimage to Amareśvara."[34] "To this day." thus closes

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[34] Compare regarding the lake of *Susrāvonāga* on the route to Amburnāṭh, above, § 59.

Kalhaṇa's story, "that tale is remembered by the people when they behold close to Cakradhara that town destroyed by fire and that pond which has become a dry hollow."

Whatever the origin of the legend may have been, it is clear that popular tradition in Kalhana's time looked upon the barren ground which stretches along the river between Tsakᵃdar and the present Vijᵉbror as the site of an ancient city. The ruins which in the twelfth century were pointed out as the remains of the burned Narapura, may have supplied the immediate starting point of the legend. What these remains were we cannot say, As the ground referred to is subject to annual inundation it is possible that the remains meant have since disappeared under alluvial deposits. The habitation of the 'Suśram' Nāga was still shown to me by Muhammadan peasants in a generally dry hollow close to the south-east foot of the Uḍar. The name of Narapura and its king are no longer remembered. But the main features of the legend as heard by Kalhaṇa, still live in the local tradition.

Tirtha of *Vijayeśvara*:

109. The ancient town which once stood in the position indicated, was evidently succeeded by VIJAYESVARA, the present *Vij*^{a} *bror*. The latter place situated less than two miles above Cakradhara received its name from the ancient shrine of Śiva Vijayeśvara (Vijayeśa, Vijayeśāna).[35] This deity is worshipped to the present day at Vij^{a}·bror. The site has evidently from early times been one of the most famous Tīrthas of Kaśmīr. It is mentioned as such in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and many old Kaśmīrian texts.[36] The tradition regarding Aśoka's connection with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity. According to Kalhaṇa's account which may well have been based on genuine local tradition or even inscriptional evidence, Aśoka had replaced the old stuccoed enclosure of the temple by one of stone. The great king was also credited with having erected within this enclosure two temples called *Aśokeśvara.*

Temple of Śiva-Vijayeśvara :

This old shrine, which is often mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and which has been the scene of many a historical incident, has now completely disappeared. According to the tradition of the local Purohitas it stood at a site close to the river-bank and nearly opposite to the bridge over the Vitastā. When I first visited Vij^{a}bror in 1889 I still found some ancient slabs and fragments at this spot. It was then some fifteen feet below the level of the surrounding ground,[37] and has since been partly built over. Stone materials are said to have been removed from here for the new temple of Vijayeśvara which was built by Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh some thirty years ago higher up on the river-bank.

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[35] Compare for detailed reference, notes i. 38, 105.

[36] The legend of the Tīrtha is given at length in *Haraca* .. x.

It is probable that a temple so much frequented had undergone more than one restoration in the course of the fifteen centuries which passed between the time of Aśoka and the end of Hindu reign in Kaśmīr. Some time before A.D. 1081, while King Ananta was residing at the Tīrtha of Vijayeśvara, the temple was burned down in a general conflagration, caused by his son Kalaśa. The latter, however, subsequently restored the shrine. The old Liṅga of Śiva Vijayeśvara seems to have been destroyed by Sikandar Būtshikast.[38]

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[37] General Cunningham who saw these remains in 1847, rightly attributes them to the temple of Vijayesa, but calls the place 'Vijayapura.' He justly points to the difference of level as an indication of the antiquity of the structure ; see *Anc. Geogr.*, ii. p. 98.

Town of *Vijayeśvara* :

The town which we must suppose to have sprung up gradually around the temple, is ascribed by Kalhaṇa to King Vijaya (ii. 62). But nothing else is recorded of this ruler, and this may cause a doubt as to his historical existence. It is significant that the town is designated either simply as *Vijayeśvara* or as *Vijayakṣetra* which is abbreviated from *Vijayeśvarakṣetra*. The modern name Vij^{a}bror is the Kś. equivalent of Vijayeśvara, Kś. *bro^{r}*, from Skr. *bhaṭṭāraka*, 'god.' having replaced the more specific-*īśvara*, the usual designation of Śiva.[39]

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[38] See *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 762 ; for an earlier mention of this emblem see *ib*. 127.

[39] Compare note i. 38 ; also ii. 134.

In the same way *Īś^{a}bror* represents *Īśeśvara* ; with the feminine *-brār* for *bhaṭṭārikā* we have *Sund$_{a}$brār* for *Saṁdhyādevī*, *Bud^{a}brār* for *Bheḍādevi*, etc.

The forms 'Bijbiāra,' 'Bijbihara,' 'Bijbehara,' etc., under which the local name figures in European books, are all based on a faulty Panjābī pronunciation. A fanciful etmology of the name in which the first part

That there existed a town of some importance already at a comparatively early date near the shrine, is indicated by the mention of a thousand Agrahāras, said to have been granted here by King Mihirakula to a settlement of Gandhāra Brahmans.[40] It was large enough to accommodate the whole court and army of King Ananta when the latter removed his residence to Vijayeśvara.[41] The narrative of the civil wars in Kalhaṇa's Book viii. shows the importance of the town by frequent references to the military operations of which it was the object.[42] One of these passages proves that there was a bridge over the Vitastā here already in the twelfth century, just as there is one still.

Vij^{a}bror has remained a town of some importance and still boasts of a large number of Brahmans, mostly Purohitas of the Tīrtha. The latter being conveniently situated on the pilgrims' way to Mārtāṇḍa and Amaranātha

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of the word is taken to represent *vidyā*. 'learning,' and the second 'Vihāra,' has found favour in the guidebooks, and may be mentioned here for curiosity's sake.

[40] See i. 317.

[41] See vii. 336 sqq.,

[42] viii. 746 sqq., 969 sqq., 1140, 1509 sqq., etc.

is well frequented even at the present day. The Māhātmyas of Vijayeśvara do not fail to name a considerable number of minor Tīrthas to be visited along with the main site. But apart from Cakradhara and Gambhīrasaṃgama I am unable to trace any of these in the older texts.

The Lid^{a}r Valley :

Turning to the last portion of the Dachūnpor district which lies in the Lid^{a}r Valley, we have but few old localities to notice. The village of *Liv^{a}r*, some ten miles to the north-west of Vijayeśvara, is the LEVARA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, mentioned as an Agrahāra established by King Lava.[43] *Kular*, about four miles higher up the valley, is identified by an old gloss with *Kuruhāra*, said to have been an Agrahāra of Lava's son Kuśa.[44] Close to Pah^{o}lgām where the Lid^{a}r valley divides into two branches, lies the hamlet of *Māmal.* A small temple of the usual Kaśmīr style built by the side of a fine spring is visited by the pilgrims to Amaranātha and designated in the Māhātmya called Amareśvarakalpa as MAMMESHVARA. It is in all probability identical with the shrine of this name mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[45]

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[43] See i. 87.
[44] See i. 88.

District of *Vāmapārśva* :

110. As we have already before noticed the several sacred sites of the Amaranātha pilgrimage, we may now turn back and descend to the left or eastern portion of the Lidᵉr Valley. It forms the modern Pargaṇa of *Khovurpor*. The latter name, meaning 'left side,' reproduces the earlier designation VAMAPARSHVA, of the same significance. found in Jonarāja's Chronicle, the Lokaprakāśa and elsewhere.[46] In the upper portion of the Pargaṇa I am not able to identify any particular old locality, though ancient remains in the form of sculptures of some interest are found near several Nāgas of this tract, e. g. at Lokuṭ'por and Sāli (Pāpaharaṇanāga).

An old site is undoubtedly the large village of *Hutᵃmar*. Its modern name seems to identify it with the SAKTAMATHA which Kṣemendra names as one of the stations in the peregrinations of his heroine Kaṅkālī.[47] The chief mosque of the place is built with the remains of a Hindu temple and preserves in its walls some sculptured fragments of remarkable beauty.

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[45] See viii. 3360.

[46] *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 79, 1232.

Shrine of *Bhīmakeśava* :

About one mile below Hut^{a}mar and on the bank of a branch of the Lid^{a}r lies the hamlet of *Bum^{a}zu*, which contains an ancient structure of considerable historical interest. The Ziārat of Bāba Bām^{a}dīn *S*āhib is nothing but a well-preserved temple, converted, with a liberal use of plaster, into the supposed resting-place of a Muhammadan saint. I have shown elsewhere that there is good reason to identify this shrine with the BHIMAKESHAVA temple which *Bhīma Śāhi*, king of Kābul, the maternal grandfather of Queen Diddā, is said to have erected in the lifetime of her husband Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958).[48]

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[47] See *Samayam*. ii. 43.

The change of *Śākta* > *hut*^{a} is in accordance with the phonetic laws of Kaśmīrī; *mar* is the regular derivative of *maṭha*, see above, § 56. [When preparing my map, I had not noticed the local name of Kṣemendra's text; it is hence not shown on it.]

[48] See note vi. 178.

For an accurate description of the temple see Bishop COWIE'S paper, *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, pp. 100 sqq.

The legendary of the Ziārat relates that the saint was originally a Hindu and bore before his conversion to Islām the name of *Bhīma Sādī*. It is easy to recognize in this name an adaptation of Bhīma Śāhi. Also the name of the locality Bumᵃ zu which the Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya renders by *Bhīmadvīpa*, is clearly derived from the old name of the shrine. *Bhīma* (>*Kś.* *Bumᵃ*) is an abbreviation of *Bhimakeśava* to which Kś. *zu*, 'island' has been added with reference to the several islands formed here by the Lidᵃr immediately in front of the hamlet.

Kalhaṇa tells us a curious anecdote regarding the fate of Bhīma Śāhi's temple in King Harṣa's time, who confiscated the great treasures with which it was endowed.[49] Close to the present Ziārat of Bāmᵃdīn Ṣāhib is a small cave in the cliff containing a well-preserved little temple which is still used for Hindu worship. Another smaller shrine outside has been turned into the tomb of Rīshi Ruknu-d-din Ṣāhib.

Tīrth of *Mārtāṇḍa* :

111. About one mile south of Bumᵃ zu we reach the Tīrtha sacred to MARTANDA which has from early times to the present day enjoyed a prominent position among the sacred sites of Kaśmīr. It is marked by a magnificent spring (traditionally represented as two, *Vimala* and *Kamala*) which an ancient legend connects with the birth of the sun-god Mārtāṇḍa.[50] The Tīrtha is visited at frequent intervals by crowds of pilgrims and is well known also in India proper. The popular name of the Tīrtha, *Bavan*, is derived from Skr. *bhavana*, '[sacred] habitation.' This some what general appellation seems to have come into use already at an early date as Śrīvara employs it,[51] and is in itself an indication of the Tīrtha's great popularity. A more specific designation is *Mats° bavan*, Skr. *Matsyabhavana*; this is due to the abundance of sacred fish which swarm in the large basins filled by the spring.[52]

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[49] See vii. 1081 sqq.

Temple of *Mārtāṇḍa* :

The ancient remains at the sacred spring itself are very scanty. All the more imposing are the ruins of the great temple which King Lalitāditya erected at a short distance in honour of the presiding deity of the Tīrtha.[53] They are situated a little over a mile to the south-east of 'Bavan,' near the northern edge of the great Uḍar which stretches towards Anatnāg. It can scarcely be doubted that the site was chosen with a view to the prominent position it assured to the great temple. Kalhaṇa duly praises "the wonderful shrine of Mārtāṇḍa with its massive walls of stone, within a lofty enclosure." Its ruins though much injured by the ravages of time and earthquakes, form still the most impressive specimen of ancient Kaśmīr architecture. They have been much admired by European travellers and often described. They are the earliest ruins in Kaśmīr, the date of which is fixed with approximate accuracy.

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[50] Compare for a detailed account of the Tīrtha, note iv. 192.

The Vimala Nāga is named by the *Nīlamata*, 963; *Śrīv*. i. 377, etc

[51] *Śrīv*. i. 376. 387.

[52] Compare *Āīn-i Akb*., ii. p. 358.

The name Mārtāṇḍa, in the form of *Mārtaṇḍ* or *Maṭan*, still attaches to the ruins though they have long ago ceased to be an object of religious interest. King Kalaśa had sought this great fane at the approach of death, and expired at the feet of the sacred image (A.D. 1039). Harṣa, his son, respected this temple in the course of the ruthless confiscations to which he subjected the other rich shrines of the country. Subsequently, in Kalhaṇa's time the great quadrangular courtyard of the temple, with its lofty walls and colonnades, was used as a fortification. The destruction of the sacred image is ascribed to Sikandar Butshikan.

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[53] See note iv. 192 for detailed references.

Town of Mārtāṇḍa :

Kalhaṇa distinctly mentions the town "swelling with grapes" which Lalitāditya founded near his temple ; but of this no trace remains now. It is probable that a canal then supplied water from the Lidᵊr to the naturally arid plateau on which the temple stands. This canal seems to have been repaired by Zainu-l-'ābidīn, whose irrigation works on the Mārtaṇḍ Uḍar are described at length by Jonarāja.[54] The plateau has since become once more an arid waste though the course of the old canal can still be traced above Hut mar.

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[54] See *Jonar.* 1245 sqq.

The town of Mārtāṇḍa had left its name to the small Pargaṇa of Maṭan which comprised this plateau as well as the villages situated along the foot of the hills further east. It is referred to as *Mārtāṇḍadeśa* by Jonarāja.[55] Abū-l-Fazl notices the large temple of *Maṭan* and the well or pit close by which a Muhammadan legend represents as the place of captivity of the 'angels Hārūt and Mārūt.'[56]

Anantanāga :

112. At the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtaṇḍ plateau lies the town of Islāmābād, or by its Hindu name *Anatnāg*. The latter is derived from the great spring of the ANANTANAGA which issues at the southern end of the town. The Nāga, though no Tīrtha of particular repute, is mentioned in the Nīlamata, Haracaritacintāmaṇi and some Māhātmyas.[57] Of the town, however, I cannot find any old notice, and it is in all probability, as its Muhammadan name implies, a later foundation. To the north of the town and on the way to

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[55] *Jonar.* 1310.

[56] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii p. 358.
For the Muhammadan tale see also VIGNE, i. p. 361.

[57] See *Nīlamata*, 902 ; *Vitastā-*, *Trisamdhyāmāhātmya*, etc., also *Haracar*. x. 251 sqq. (Anantabhavana).

Bavan, is the *Gautamanāga*, named by the Nilamata and the Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya.

The modern name of the small district which comprised besides Anatnāg the tract immediately south and west of it, is *Anyech*. This is represented in some Māhātmyas of recent composition by *Anekākṣa*. This name occurs also once in Śrīvara's Chronicle, but the locality there meant is not certain.[58]

Tīrtha of *Kapaṭeśvara*:

The valley of the Ārᵃpath or Harṣapathā which opens to the east of Islāmabād, forms the Pargaṇa of *Kuṭᵃhār*. This name is in all probability connected with that of the ancient Tīrtha of KAPATESVARA, situated on the southern side of the valley close to the village of *Kōṭhēr*[59] The name of the latter is undoubtedly a derivative of Kapaṭeśvara, as the analogy of Jyéṭhér < Jyeṣṭheśvara, Triphar < Tripureśvara, etc., clearly shows.

The place of pilgrimage is the sacred spring of PAPASUDANA ('sin-removing'), situated a short distance above Kōṭhēr. In it *Śiva* is believed to have shown himself in the disguise (*kapaṭa*) of pieces of wood floating on the water. The legend is related at length in the Nīlamata, and the author of the Haracaritacintāmaṇi devotes to it a separate canto which has now become the official Māhātmya of the Tīrtha.[60] The importance of the latter is shown by the fact that Kalhaṇa mentions it in his Introduction first among the sacred sites of Kaśmīr.

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[58] *Śrīv*. iii. 184.

[59] See note i. 32.

Before him already Albērūnī had heard of the story that pieces of wood sent by Mahādeva appear annually "in a pond called *Kūdaiṣhahr* to the left of the source of the Vitastā, in the middle of the month of Vaiśākha."[61] *Kūdaiṣhahr* (كوديشهور) is an easily explained corruption for (كوديشور) i.e. **Kavadēśvar*, a Prakritized form of the name. The map shows that the description of the Tīrtha's position is accurate enough with reference to the Nīlanāga as the Vitastā's traditional source. The date named by Albērūnī is identical with that prescribed for the Kapaṭeśvara Yātra.

The sacred spring rises in a large circular tank which is enclosed by an ancient stone-wall and steps leading into the water. According to Kalhaṇa's account this enclosure was constructed, about a century before his own time, at the expense of the well-known King Bhoja of Mālava. The latter is said to have taken a vow always to wash his face in the water of the Pāpasūdana spring, which he caused to be regularly supplied to him in jars of glass.[62] In my note on the passage I have shown that local tradition at Kōṭhēr still retains a recollection of this story though in a rather legendary form. A small temple which stands to the east of the tank, and some other remains probably belong to the period of Bhoja. Abū-l-Fazl, too, knows, "in the village of Koṭihār, a deep spring surrounded by stone temples. When its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandal-wood appears."

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[60] *Haracar.* xiv.

[61] See *India,* ii. p. 181.

Śamāṅgāsā :

About four miles to the north-east of Kōṭhēr and on a branch of the Ārᵃpath river lies the populous village of *Śāngas*, the ancient ŚAMANGASA. Kalhaṇa mentions the place twice.[63] The modern name can be traced back to Samā*n*gāsā through a course of regular phonetic conversion, one stage of which is preserved in the form *Śvāngas* supplied by the old glossator of the Chronicle.[64] Some old carved slabs built into the chief Ziārat of the place attest its antiquity. A short distance above *Śā*ngas we come to another old place. It is the present village of *Vut*^{a}*rus* which on the authority of the same glossator and of the name itself we can safely identify with Kalhaṇa's *Utrāsa*.[65] Uccala and Sussala in their flight from Harṣa's court found a temporary refuge with the Ḍāmara of this locality.

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[62] See vii. 190 sqq.
[63] See i. 100 ; viii. 651.

Turning back to the west we find in the middle of the valley the village of *Khondur*. An old gloss enables us to identify it with the ancient SKANDAPURA mentioned by Kalhaṇa as an Agrahāra of King Gopāditya.[66] More important is *Ach*^{a}*bal*, a large village situated at the extremity of the hill range which lines the Kut^{a}hār Pargaṇa from the south. It is mentioned in the Chronicle under the name of AKSAVALA. The beautiful springs of the place have often been described since Abū-l-Fazl's time, also by Bernier. The park around them was a favourite camping ground of the Mughal court.[67] The Nīlamata calls the spring *Akṣıpālanāga.*

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[64] Compare note i. 100.
[65] Compare vii. 1254.
[66] Compare i. 340.

SECTION VII.—THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MAḌAVARĀJYA.

District of Bring :

113. The Kuṭ'hār Pargaṇa is adjoined on the south by the district of Bring which coincides with the valley of the Bring stream. Its old name cannot be traced ; the Lokaprakāśa transcribes the modern designation by *Bhṛṅga.* At the western end of the Pargaṇa and about five miles south-west of Achᵃbal, is the village of *Lōkᵊbavan* which an old gloss identifies with LOKAPUNYA of the Rājataraṅgiṇi.[1] The numerous passages which mention the place agree with this location. The name Lōkᵃbavan applies also to the fine Nāga adjoining the village, and this explains the second part of the present name, *-bavan* (Skr. *-bhavana*).[2]

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[67] Compare note i. 338.
In the translation of the *Āīn-i Akb.* the name appears as 'Acch Dal,' ii. p. 358 ; see BERNIER, *Travels*, p. 411.

[1] See note iv. 193

[2] See above, § 111.

King Lalitāditya is said to have built a town here. A small garden-palace erected in Mug͟hal times near the spring is partly constructed of old materials.

Ascending the Bring valley we come again to an old site at the large village of *Bīḍᵃr.* It is certainly the BHEDARA of Kalhaṇa who notices here a wealthy Agrahāra of King Bālāditya.[3] A ruined mound in the village and some old sculptures at the neighbouring Brahman village of Hāngalguṇḍ are the only ancient remains now above ground.

Tīrtha of *Ardhanārīśvara* :

From Biḍᵃr we may pay a passing visit to a small Tīrtha which, though I cannot find it mentioned in any old text, may yet claim some antiquity. About one and a half miles to the south-east of Biḍᵃr lies the village of Nāru in the low hills flanking the valley. It contains a small temple of ancient date which was restored some forty years ago by a pious Dogra official. It stands by the side of a small Nāga at which, according to the local Māhātmya I acquired from the resident Purohita, Śiva is worshipped as ARDHANARISVARA, that is, in conjunction with his consort Pārvatī. Inside he temple is an ancient image of Viṣṇu with a short Sanskrit inscription said to have been found in a miraculous fashion at the restoration of the temple. About half a mile to the south-west is a sacred spring known as *Svedanāga* which seems to have risen originally within a large temple. The remains of the latter lie in shapeless heaps around the spring. The latter is still visited by pilgrims.

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[3] iii. 481.

It appears to me that it is this spot which Abū-l-Fazl wishes to describe in the following notice. After mentioning the Kukar Nāg and Sund ᵘbrār (see below) among the sacred places of Bring he says: "At a little distance in the midst of a beautiful temple, seven fountains excite the wonderment of the beholder. In the summer-time self-immolating ascetics here heap up a large fire around themselves, and with the utmost fortitude suffer themselves to be burned to death."[4] He then mentions a lofty hill containing an iron mine to the north of this spot. This can only be the hill above Sof on the northern side of the valley and nearly opposite Nāru, from which iron is still extracted at the present day. There is no other Nāga within Bring to which Abū-l-Fazl's description would apply so closely as to the Svedanāga.

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[4] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 356.

The Kukᵃr Nāg, mentioned by Abū-l-Fazl for its good water inciting a healthy appetite, lies about a mile above Biḍ°r. It is a spring of very great volume, but is referred to only in the Trisaṁdhyāmāhātmya (*Kukkuṭeśvara*).

Spring of *Trisaṁdhyā*:

Bring contains one of the holiest of Kaśmīr Tīrthas in the sacred spring of the goddess SAMDHYA, also called *Trisaṁdhyā*, the modern *Sundᵃ brār*.[5] It is situated in a side-valley opening to the south of the village of Devalgom, circ. 75° 22′ long. 33° 32′ lat. The spring of Saṁdhya derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows, or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times during the night.

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[5] See note i. 33.

Owing to the analogy thus presented to the three fold recitation of the Gāyatrī (Saṁdhyā) it is held sacred to the goddess Saṁdhyā. At the season indicated it is visited by a considerable concourse of pilgrims.

The small spring, which is usually dry for the greater part of the year, has, owing to the curious phenomenon above indicated, always enjoyed great fame as one of the 'wonders' of the Valley. Kalhaṇa duly mentions it immediately after Kapaṭeśvara. The Nīlamata, too, knows it. Abū-l-Fazl describes it in detail, and Dr. Bernier made it a special point to visit this 'merveille de Cachemire.'[6] He has observed the phenomenon with his usual accuracy. The ingenuous explanation he has recorded of it, shows how closely he had examined the topographical features of the little valley. Close to the Trisaṁdhyā spring there is another Nāga, sacred to the Seven Ṛṣis, but not sharing the former's peculiar nature. There are no ancient remains in the neighbourhood deserving special notice.

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[6] Compare *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 355 sq. ; BERNIER, *Travels*, pp. 410 sqq.

District of Ver ; *Nīlanāga* :

114. To the south of Bring lies the valley of the Sāndran River which forms the Pargaṇa of Shāhābād. This name is of comparatively modern origin, as Abū-l-Fazl still knows the tract as *Vēr.*[7] This designation still survives in the name Vērnāg, i. e. 'the Nāga of Vēr,' popularly given to the fine spring which we have already noticed as the habitation of the NĪLANAGA and the traditional source of the Vitastā. Abū-l-Fazl still saw to the east of it 'temples of stone.' These have now disappeared, their materials having been used probably for the construction of the fine stone-enclosure which Jahāngīr built round the spring. The deep blue colour of the water which collects in the spring-basin, may possibly account for the location of the Nīlanāga in this particular fountain. Kalhaṇa's reference to the "circular pond" from which the Vitastā rises,[8] shows that the spring had already in ancient times an artificial enclosure similar to the present one.

Vitastātra :

Reference has already been made to the

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[7] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 361, 370.

[8] See i. 28.

sacred spring of *Vithᵊvutur*, only about one mile to the north-west of Vērnāg. The small village near by is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a town under the name of VITASTATRA.[9] Aśoka is said to have erected here numerous Stūpas: within the *Dharmāraṇya* Vihāra there stood a lofty Caitya built by him. Of these structures no remains can now be traced above ground. Vitastātra could never have been a large town as the ground is too confined. But some importance is assured to the site by the route to the neighbouring pass of Bānᵒhāl (*Bāṇaśāla*). We have already spoken of the pass and its ancient name.[10]

PANCAHASTA the present *Pānzath*, also in Vēr has already been referred to as the site of one of the traditional sources of the Vitastā. Kalhaṇa mentions it in connection with a Maṭha which Śuravarman, Avantivarman's minister, built here.[11] A pretty valley which opens to the south of Pānzath, is now known by the name of its chief village *Ruzul*. The latter is mentioned by Jonarāja as RAJOLAKA.[12]

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[9] See note i. 102.
[10] Compare above, § 41.
[11] v. 24.
[12] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.) 90.

About three miles higher up this valley is the Nāga of VASUKI. It is mentioned in the Nīlamata and other old texts, but does not appear to have ever been an important Tīrtha.[13]

District of *Devasarasa*:

115. The Pargaṇa of *Div^{a}sar* which adjoins Shāhābād-Vēr on the west, may be roughly described as comprising the tract of alluvial plain drained by the Veśau (Viśokā). By its ancient name of DEVASARASA it is often mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and other Chronicles.[14] Being extensively irrigated by canals drawn from the Viśokā it is very fertile. This accounts for the great part which the Ḍāmaras or feudal landholders of Devasarasa played during the weak reigns of the later kings. No certain reference to a specific locality within this tract can be traced in our old texts. But it seems probable that *Pāreviśoka*, repeatedly named in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, must be looked for within Devasarasa ; the name means literally 'bayond the Viśokā.'[15]

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[13] See *Nīlamata*, 901.
[14] Compare note viii. 504.

Kherī :

The fertile valleys descending to the right bank of the Viśokā from that portion of the Pīr Pantsāl Range which lies between the Kōnsᵃr Nāg Peak and the Mohi Pass, form a small district of their own, known in recent times by the double name of Khur-Nārᵃvāv. The first part of this name is taken from the large village of *Khur* situated about two miles from the Viśokā, circ. 74° 56′ 45″ long. 33° 37′ lat. It is marked as 'Koori' on the larger survey map. The name KHERI, which we find used by Kalhaṇa and Śrīvara for the designation of the tract, is in all probability the older form of khur.[16] It seems that in later Hindu times the administration of Kherī, perhaps as a royal allodial domain, formed a special charge. Kalhaṇa often refers to the *Kherīkārya* as a high state-office. The Sikhs and Dogrās who established Jāgīrs for members of the reigning family in Khur-Nārᵃvāv, may thus have followed an earlier arrangement.

Godharā-Hastiśālā :

The only localities in this little district

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[15] Compare note iv. 5.
[16] Compare note i. 3 5.

that are known to us by their ancient names, are GODHARA and HASTISHALA, the present-*Gudar* and *Ast'hēl.*[17] These two small villages are situated close together, on a branch of the Viśokā near the eastern limits of Khur-Nārᵃvāv. Kalhaṇa mentions the 'Agrahāra of Godharā-Hastiśālā' as a foundation of King Godhara. The old gloss which transcribes these local names by 'Godhar-Astīhil' enabled me to identify the places intended. A small stream which falls into the Viśokā at Gudar is known by the name of *Godāvarī* and forms a Tīrtha of some repute among the Brahmans of the neighbouring districts. In the Māhātmya of the Tīrtha the site of the village is called *Godara*, and its name connected with the legend of the appearance of the Godāvarī. The local tradition regarding a town which King Gudar is supposed to have founded here has been discussed in my note on the above-quoted passage of Kalhaṇa.

The Naubandhana Tīrtha and the Kramasaras or Kōnsᵃr Nāg south of this district have already been previously noticed.

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[17] See note i. 96

District of *Karāla*:

116. To the north of Divᵃ sar extends the considerable district of *Āḍᵃ* vin reaching from the western end of Khur-Nārᵃvāv to the lower course of the Viśokā. Its present name is derived from that of the large village of *Āḍᵃ vin*, which lies on the left bank of the Viśokā about three miles south-west of Vijᵃ brōr. In the form of *Ardhavana* this name is found already in a passage of Jonarāja's Chronicle, supplied by the new edition.[18] The ancient designation of the district, however, was KARALA. This is used by Kalhaṇa when speaking of the Suvarṇamaṇikulyā, the present canal of Sunᵃ manⁱ Kul, which has already been referred to as irrigating part of *Āḍᵃ* vin.[19]

In the lower portion of the district and on the left bank of the Viśokā, we have the ancient KATIMUSA, the present village of *Kaimuh*. The place is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as an Agrahāra, founded by Tunjīna I., and contains some old remains built into its chief Ziārat.[20]

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[18] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1330.

[19] See note i. 97 and above, § 78.

Pargaṇa of Zain^{a} por :

Part of *Āḍ*^{a}vin lies on an alluvial plateau. The northernmost portion of this Uḍar ground seems to have been formed into a separate Pargaṇa after Zainu-l-'abidīn had constructed there extensive irrigation channels. From the small town of *Jainapurī* founded by him, the new sub-division took the name of Zain^{a}pōr or JAINAPURA.[21] At the east foot of the Zain^{a}pōr Uḍar lies the village of *Vach*^{i} (map 'Woochi') which on the authority of an old gloss may be identified with VASCIKA (or Vaścika), an agrahāra founded by Gopāditya.[22]

Pargaṇa of Boṭ :

The Pargana which joins on to *Āḍ*^{a}vin in the north-east, is now known as *Bōṭ* (map 'Batoo'). Its ancient name is unknown. The only old locality I can trace in it, is the village of *Sidau*, 74° 51′ long. 33° 41′ lat., the ancient SIDDHAPATHA.[23] It has given its name to the route previously mentioned which leads to the Būdil and Kōnsᵃr Nāg Passes. It is curious that we find no old mention whatever of the present *Śupiyan*, a considerable town, which is the trade-emporium for the Pīr Pants̲āl route. In this character Śupiyan has replaced the ancient *Śūrapura* or Hūrᵃpor, but the change must be a comparatively recent one.

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[20] Compare note ii. 55.

[21] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1144 sqq. ; *Śrīv.* iii. 194 ; Fourth Chron. 360, 383.

[22] Compare note i. 343.

Śūrapura :

ŚURAPURA which we have already noticed as the Kaśmīr terminus of the Pīr Pants̲āl route, lies some seven miles higher up on the Rembyārᵃ.[24] It received its name from the minister Śūravarman who built it in the time of Avantivarman and transferred to it the watch-station or 'Draṅga' of the route. The position of the latter is marked by a spot known as Ilāhī Darwāza, a short distance above Hūrᵃpor.[25] Śūrapura must have been a place of considerable extent as ruins of old habitations can be traced on the river-banks for over two miles below the present Hür°por. It must have retained its importance down to Akbar's time, because it is regularly mentioned by all the later Chroniclers whenever they refer to marches and traffic by the Pīr Pantsāl route. The ancient remains of the place have been described by me in my notes on the latter.

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[23] See note viii. 557.

[24] Compare Note *D* (iii. 227) ; note v. 39 ; also *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 381 sqq.

[25] See above, § 42.

Tīrtha of *Kapālamocana*:

Our previous account of the old localities on the way to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass makes it unnecessary for us to proceed now further in this direction. Descending then by the Rembyār° we come on its left bank to the village of ***Dégām*** situated about one and a half miles to the west of Śupiyān. It is the DEGRAMA of the Rājatarańgiṇī and the site of the KAPALAMOCANA Tīrtha.[26] The sacred spring of the latter is supposed to mark the spot where Śiva cleaned himself from the sin attaching to him after the cutting-off of Brahman's head (*kapāla*). The Tīrtha is old, because the Haracaritacintāmaṇi mentions it twice.[27] There are, however, but few ancient remains and the extant Māhātmya is evidently not of old date. It calls the village *Dvigrāma* and knows the modern Śupiyaṇ by the name of *Śūrpāyaṇa*.

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[26] See note vii. 266.

117. The villages which lie at the foot of the pine-clad spurs descending into the plain west and north-west of Śupiyan, formed until recent times a small distinct Pargaṇa known as *Śūparsāmūn*. Abū-l-Fazl mentions it (Soparsāman), but I am not able to trace its name in our older texts.

District Śukru :

To the north of this tract and of Boṭ extends the Pargaṇa of *Śukru*. Its old name is unknown. Here at the foot of the hills we have the ancient KALYANAPURA, represented by the present village of *Kalampor*, situated 74° 54′ long. 33° 48′ lat. It was founded by Kalyāṇadevī, a queen of Jayāpīḍa.[28] Being on the high road from the Pīr Panṯsāl Pass to Śrīnagar it was repeatedly the scene of battles fought with invaders from that direction.[29] At Kalyāṇapura there was in Kalhaṇa's time the splendid country-seat of a powerful Ḍāmara.[30] The large village of *Drābᵃgām*, some three miles north of Kalampor, is mentioned as DRABHAGRAMA by Śrīvara, along with Kalyāṇapura, in the description of a battle which was fought between the two places.[31]

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[27] See *Haracar.* x. 249 ; xiv. 111.

[28] See note iv. 483.

Tirtha of *Bheḍā* :

High up in the valley of the Birnai stream which debouches at Drābᵃgām from the south west, is the site of an ancient Tīrtha which, though now completely forgotten, must have ranked once amongst the most popular in Kaśmīr. In Kalhaṇa's introduction there is named along with Trisaṁdhyā, Svayaṁbhū, Śāradā, and other famous sites, "the hill of BHEDA (*Bheḍagiri*), sanctified by the *Gaṅgodbheda* spring." There the goddess Sarasvatī was believed to have shown herself as a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the hill. This Tīrtha has long ago ceased to be visited by pilgrims, and all recollection regarding its position has been lost to Paṇḍit tradition. Fortunately the old Māhātmya of the sacred lake has survived in a single copy. With the help of some indications furnished by it and an opportune notice of Abū-l-Fazl, I was able to make a search for this ancient Tīrtha which ultimately led to its discovery at the present Buḍ·brār in the vally above indicated.

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[29] See viii. 1261 sqq. ; 2814 sqq. ; *Śrīv.* iv. 466 sqq.

[30] See viii. 2348 sqq.

[31] See *Śrīv.* iv. 467. For a miniature temple extant at Drābᵃgām, compare Bishop Cowie's note, *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, p. 117.

For the detailed evidence regarding this identification I must refer to Note *A* (i. 35). Here a brief reference to the topographical peculiarity of the site will suffice. The Māhātmya describes the lake sacred to the goddess Sarasvatī-Bheḍā as situated on the summit of a hill and Gaṅgodbheda as a spring flowing from it. At *Buḍᵃbrār*, a small Gujar hamlet which occupies the position marked by BHEDAGIRI on the map, I found an ancient stone-lined tank fed by a spring on the top of a small hillock. The latter rises about seventy feet above the level of the narrow valley of the Birnai stream. From the side of the hillock issues a spring which is the natural outflow of the tank and exactly corresponds to the description given of Gaṅgodbheda. The name *Buḍᵃbrār* is the direct derivative of *Bheḍādevī*, 'the goddess Bheḍā,' the popular designation of the Tīrtha found in the Māhātmya ; *brār* <Skr. *bhaṭṭāʳikā* is the equivalent of *devī*, as in Sundᵃbrār, Harᵃbrār, and other names.

The water of the spring which fills the tank, is said to keep warm in the winter. This accounts evidently for the story told in the Māhātmya that snow never lies on the ground around the sacred tank. Also Abū-l-Fazl's notice of the Tīrtha knows of this particular feature : "Near S͟hukroh (Śukru) is a low hill on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year and is a place of pilgrimage for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur."[32]

Bheḍāvana :

Also Śrivara helped to guide my search in the direction of Buḍᵃbrār and to confirm the subsequent identification. He mentions the route through *Bheḍāvana*, 'the forest of Bheḍā,' as the line of retreat taken by the troops who, after their defeat in the abovementioned engagement near Drābᵃgām, were fleeing towards Rajaurī.[33] A glance at the map shows that the thickly-wooded valley of Buḍᵃbrār is meant here. For a force beaten near Drābᵃgām it afforded the most direct and safest retreat to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass and hence to Rajaurī. The route leading through the valley joins the 'Imperial Road' at Dubji and is shown on the map.

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[32] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 362.

Returning once more to the plain we have yet to notice two other old localities of Śukru, *Bilau* (map 'Bellch'), about four miles northeast of Drābᵃgām, is probably the 'village of BILAVA,' once mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[34] Within a mile of it lies the village *Sunᵃsāmil*, which we may safely identify with the *Suvarṇasānūra* of the Rājataraṅgiṇī in view of the resemblance of the names and the repeated mention of the latter place together with Kalyāṇapura.[35]

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[33] Compare *Śrīv.* iv. 496 and the preceding narrative.

[34] See vii. 1016.

[35] See note vii. 1519 ; *sunᵃ*, 'gold,' is the regular Kś. derivative of Skr. *suvarṇa*.

Distric of Śāvur :

118. East of Śukru towards the Vitastā stretches the Pargaṇa of *Śāvur* (map 'Showra'). The earlier form of its name cannot be traced. Its northern part is formed by the alluvial plateau known as the *Naunagar Uḍar*. This latter is twice referred to as NAUNAGARA in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.[36] The village of *Pāyer* which lies at the foot of the Uḍar at its north-western end, contains a well-preserved little temple often described by European travellers.[37] Nothing is known regarding the original name of the locality.

Distric of Chrāṭh :

To the north of Śukru we have the district of *Chrāṭh* (shown only on the larger survey map). It extends from the hills above Rāmuh in a north-easterly direction to the left bank of the Vitastā. Its old name is restored in

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[36] See vii. 358.

[37] Compare e.g. CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 254 sqq. I am unable to explain why the place figures in all European accounts as Pāyech, Pā Yech, etc. VIGNE, ii. 41, first uses this form which is locally quite unknown. He does not fail to explain it by one of his naive etymologies.

Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's Tirthasamgraha as *Śrīrāṣṭra, but I do not know on what authority. *Rāmuh*, first correctly identified by Prof. Bühler with Kalhaṇa's PAMUSA,[38] is a considerable village on the high road from Śupiyan to Śrīnagar. It is first mentioned as an agrahāra, founded by a queen of Tunjīna I. A small spring at the northern end of the village, called *Dhananāga*, is visited as a Tīrtha and contains some fragments of ancient sculptures. The temple erected by the Brahman family which now holds Rāmuh as a jāgīr, does not seem to mark an old site.

A short distance to the north of Rāmuh rises an alluvial plateau which is crossed by the road to Śrīnagar. It is known as *Gūs Uḍar* and takes its name from the village of *Gūs* situated at its eastern foot, about two miles from Ramuh. The place is mentioned as GUSIKA in Śrīvara's Chronicle, which also knows the plateau by the name *Gusikoḍḍāra.*[39] At the other end of Chrāṭh towards the Vitastā lies the large village of *Ratanpōr*, 75° 1′ long. 33° 55′ lat., which in all probability represents the RATNAPURA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[40] The latter was founded in Kalhaṇa's time by Queen Ratnādevī, who also constructed there a fine Maṭha.

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[38] See *Report*, p. 7 and my note ii. 55. Medial ṣ becomes in Kś. regularly *h* ; comp. *Katīmuṣa* > *Kaimuh*.

[39] *Śrīv*. iv. 532, 465, 592 sqq. -*uḍḍāra* is the Skr. original of the Ks. term *uḍar* ; see note viii. 1427.

With Chrāṭh may be mentioned two localities on the left bank of the Vitastā, though in recent times they were counted with the riverain Pargaṇa Sāiru-l-mawāzi' Bālā. *Gūr'pūrā*, a small village opposite to the foot of Mount Vastᵊrvan, is identified by an old gloss with the GOPALAPURA which according to Kalhaṇa was founded by Queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-6).[41]

Lower down on the river is the large village Kākᵊpōr which forms as it were the riverside station or port for Śupiyan. A note from the hand of Paṇḍit Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha who wrote the codex archetypus of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, identifies UTPALAPURA with Kākᵊpōr.[42] Utpalapura was founded by

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[40] See viii. 2434.

[41] See note v. 244.

[42] See note iv. 695. Ratnakaṇṭha's note is in a copy of the *Kṣetrapālapaddhati* seen by me in 1895 in the possession of Paṇḍit Jaganmohan, Huṇḍ, at Lahore.

Utpala, an uncle of King Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa, in the early part of the ninth century. If this identification is correct, one of the ruined temples extant at Kākᵃpōr and noticed already by Cunningham, may be the shrine of Viṣṇu *Utpalasvāmin* mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the foundation of Utpalapura. Jonarāja also knows the latter place and records a late restoration of its Viṣṇu temple.[43]

District of *Nāgrāma*:

119. North of Chrāṭh we come to the district of *Nāgām*, which is one of considerable extent. Its old name NAGRAMA is often mentioned in the later Chronicles.[44] The only old locality which I can trace in it, is the village of *Ārⁱgōm*, situated 74° 45′ long. 33° 56′ lat. It is the HADIGRAMA of Kalhaṇa, mentioned as an Agrahāra of Gopāditya and as the scene of several fights in the Chronicler's own time.[45] Some remains of old buildings are reported to exist at the place ; I have not seen it myself.

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[43] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed), 111 sqq., 369 ; 1142.

[44] Compare *Jonar* (Bo. ed.), 661 ; *Śrīv.* ii. 10 ; iii. 24, 430 ; iv. 349 ; Fourth Chron. 258, etc.

[45] See note i. 340. The old glossator on this passage renders Hāḍigrāma correctly by *Āḍegrām.*

About five miles due south of *Ā*r'gōm we find a small lake known as Nīlᵃnāg, situated in a valley between low spurs descending from the Pir Pantsāl range. It seems to have been formed by an old land-slip which blocked a narrow defile in the valley. This lake does not appear ever to have enjoyed any particular sanctity. But Abū-l-Fazl, by some curious misapprehension, transfers to it the legends of the famous Nīlanāga (at Vērnāg). He adds to them what appears like a garbled version of the story of the city submerged in the Mahāpadma or Volur lake.[46]

District of *Ikṣikā*:

Nāgām is adjoined on the north by the Pargaṇā of *Yech* which extends to the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagar. Its old name is given as Iksika by Śrīvara.[47] In the centre of the tract lies an arid alluvial plateau known as *Dāmᵃdar Uḍar*, where an ancient popular tradition surviving to the present day has localized the legend of King *Dāmodara.*

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[46] Compare *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 363. It is possible that of the two Nīlanāgas which the Nīlamata, 903, mentions besides the famous spring of that name, one was located in the Nāgām lake.

[47] *Śrīv.* iii. 25.

Dāmodara's Uḍar :

The story as related by Kalhaṇa, represents the king as having built a town on the Uḍar, which latter was called after him DAMODARASUDA.[48] In order to bring water to it he had a great dam, called GUDDASETU, constructed by supernatural agency. Once hungry Brahmans asked the king for food just as he was going to bathe. The king refused to comply with their request until he had taken his bath. The Brahmans thereupon cursed him so that he became a snake. Ever since, the unfortunate king is seen by people in the form of a snake "rushing about in search of water far and wide on the Dāmodarasūda." He is not to be delivered from the curse until he hears the whole Rāmāyaṇā recited to him in a single day, a task which renders his release hopeless.

The modern name 'Dāmᵃdar Uḍar' is the exact equivalent of Kalhaṇa's *Dāmodarasūda*, the old Skr. term *sūda* meaning a 'place where the soil is barren.' The local name Guddasetu still lives in that of the small village *Guḍ'suth* situated at the south foot of the Uḍar. Just at this point the latter shows its greatest relative elevation and falls off towards the valley with a steep bank over one hundred feet high. The wall-like appearance of this cliff probably suggested the story of an embankment which was to bring water to the plateau. In view of the configuration of the ground no serious attempt at irrigation by means of an aqueduct could ever have been made in this locality.

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[48] Compare for detailed reference, above, note i. 156.

The Uḍar extends for about six miles from the village of Vahᵃtōr in a north-westerly direction, with a breadth varying from two to three miles. It bears scanty crops of Indian corn only in patches. Being entirely dovoid of water it is a dry and barren waste, a haunt of jackals as in the days when King Kṣemagupta hunted over the '*Dāmodaraṇya.*'[49] The main features of the legend regarding it are well known to popular tradition throughout

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[49] Compare vi. 183.

Kaśmīr. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages also point to a spot on the Uḍar known as *Sat^{a}rās Téng*, as the site of Dāmodara's palace. A spring called Dāmodar Nāg in the village of Lālgām, is believed to have served for the King's ablutions.

To Yech belongs also the small village of *Somar^{ə}bug* on the left bank of the Vitastā, which according to the note of the old glossator A_2 marks the site of the temple of Viṣṇu SAMARASVAMIN mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[50] Another old locality in Yech is probably marked by the hemlet of *Hal^{a}thal* to which Abū-l-Fazl refers. It is not shown on the survey map, and I have not been able to ascertain its exact position. Hal^{a}thal is evidently a derivative of ŚALASTHALA, the name given by Kalhaṇa to a locality where a fight took place in the time of King Ananta.[51] Abū-l-Fazl mentions 'Halthal' for its quivering tree. "If the smallest branch of it be shaken, the whole tree hecomes tremulous."

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[50] See note v. 25. The ending -*bug* is not rare in Kaśmīr village names. According to Paṇḍit tradition it is derived from Skr. *bhoga* in the sense of 'property granted for the usufruct [of a temple].'

[51] See note vii. 994 ; *Āīn-i Akb*, ii. p. 363.

SECTION VIII.—THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF KRAMARAJYA.

District of Dūn^{ts} :

120 To the west of Yech, but also reaching close to the capital, lies the Pargaṇa now called *Dūnts* (map 'Doonsoo'). Its ancient name is uncertain ; possibly the *Dvāviṁśati* in the Lokaprakāśa's list of 'Viṣayas' is intended for it. In Abū-l-Fazl's table of Pargaṇas Dūnts ('Dūnsū') is already counted with Kamrāz. An old locality in it is *Śīl^{i}pōr*, a large village situated circ. 74° 45′ long. 34° 1′ lat. (map 'Shalipoor'). We may safely recognize in it the SELYAPURA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which is referred to as a place on the direct route from the Tōṣ^{a}maidān Pass and the Kārkoṭadraṅga to Śrīnagar.[1] *Hukh^{a}lit^{a}r* (map 'Haklitri') can safely be identified in view of the name and the evidence of an old gloss with ŚUSKALETRA mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as a place where Stūpas were erected by king Aśoka.[2] I have not visited the village myself, and am hence unable to say whether there are any remains in the vicinity which could be attributed to Stūpas. Kalhaṇa locates at Śuṣkaletra the fierce battle by which King Jayāpīḍa recovered his kingdom.

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[1] See note vii. 494 ; viii. 200.

[2] Compare notes i. 102 ; iv. 473. Kś. *Hukh^{a}lit^{a}r* is the direct phonetic derivative of the Skr. form.

District of *Bahurūpa* :

West of Dūnts and towards the mountains of the Pīr Pantsāl lies the Pargaṇa of *Bīru*. Its old designation BAHURUPA is derived from the spring of that name which is situated at the present village of Bīru, 74° 39′ long. 34° 1′ lat., and is referred to as a Tīrtha already in the Nīlamata.[3] Abū-l-Fazl knows the village and spring by an intermediate form of the name, *Bīruwā*, and mentions the miraculous power of the spring to heal leprosy.[4] Close to the village of Bīru is *Sunᵃpāh* in which we may, with the old glossator of the Rājataraṅgṇī, recognize SUVARNAPARSVA, an Agrahāra of Lalitāditya.[5]

About four miles to the south-west of Bīru we reach *Khāg*, a considerable place, which is undoubtedly the KHAGI of KHAGIKA mentioned by Kalhaṇa as an Agrahāra both of Khagendra and of Gopāditya.[6] Some miles north of Khāg an isolated spur known as *Pōṣkar* projects from the slopes of the Pīr Pantsāl range into the plain. At its eastern foot is the *Puṣkaranāga*, referred to as a Tīrtha in the Nīlamata and several old Māhātmyas and still the object of a regular pilgrimage.[7] Of the route which leads down from the Tōṣᵃmaidān Pass into Bīru, and of KARKOTAĐRANGA, the old watch-station on it, we have already spoken above.

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[3] See *Nīlamata*, 948, 1180, 1341 sq. The name Bahurūpa is given to the tract by *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 286, 840 ; *Śrīv*. ii. 19 ; iii. 159 ; iv. 620.

[4] *Āīn*-i *Akb*., ii p. 363.

[5] See iv. 673.

District of Māñchᵃhom :

Bīru and Dūnts are adjoined on the north by the Pargaṇa of *Mañchᵃhōm* which extends eastwards as far as the Vitastā. It is probably intended by the name of *Mākṣāśrama* found in a single passage of Śrīvara and of the Lokaprakāśa.[8] The village of *Raṭᵃsun*, situated 74° 38′ long. 34° 4′ lat., is probably, as indicated by an old gloss, the ARISTOTSADANA of the

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[6] Compare i. 90, 340.

[7] See *Nīlamata*. 1021, 1347.

There were several other Puṣkaratīrthas in Kaśmīr. One was connected with the Sureśvarī pilgrimage and probably situated in Phākh ; see *Śarvāv*. v. 56 sqq.

[8] See *Śrīv*. iv. 351.

Rājataraṅgiṇī.[9] From the latter form the modern name of the village can be derived without difficulty. A temple is said to have been erected there by a queen of Bālāditya.

On the Vitastā, some six miles below Śrīnagar, is the small village of *Malur* which, on the authority of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, may be identified with MALHANAPURA, a foundation of King Jayāpīḍa.[10] *Zainᵃkōṭh*, situated near marshy ground about two miles south-east of it, preserves the name of Zainu-l-ʻābidīn, its founder, and is mentioned as JAINAKOTTA by Jonarāja.[11]

Site of *Parihāsapura* :

121. The Pargaṇa of *Parᵃspōr* (map 'Paraspoor'), which lies next to Mañchᵃhōm, is one of small extent, but contains a site of great historical interest. It has received its name from the ancient PARIHASAPURA which King Lalitāditya had built as his capital.[12] The identity of the names *Parᵃspōr* and *Paʳihāsapura* is evident on phonetic grounds, and was well known to the authors of the Persian abstracts of the Rājataraṅgiṇī Yet curiously enough the site of Parihāsapura had remained unidentified until I visited the spot in 1892 and traced the ruins of Lalitāditya's great structures as described by Kalhaṇa on the plateau known as the 'Parᵃspōr Udar.'

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[9] iii. 482.

[10] Compare iv. 484.

[11] *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1248.

[12] For a detailed account of the site of Parihāsapura and its identification compare Note *F* iv. 194-204. The large scale map of 'Parihāsapura and the Confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu' shows the position of the several ruins in detail.

This plateau rises south-east of Shādⁱpūr, between the marshes of Panzⁱnōr on the east and those of Hārᵃtraṭh on the west. Its length is about two miles from north to south and its greatest breadth not much over a mile. On the north this plateau is separated from the higher ground of Trigām by the Badrihél Nāla which, as I have shown above, represents the old bed of the Vitastā previous to Suyya's regulation. On the other sides it is surrounded by marshes which for a great part of the year are still accessible by boats. Its general elevation is about one hundred feet.

Ruins of *Parihāsapura* :

A broad ravine which cuts into the plateau from the south and in which the village of *Divar* (map 'Diara') nestles, divides it into two parts On the south-western portion are the ruins of two large temples, much decayed, but still showing dimensions which considerably exceed those of the great temple of Mārtāṇḍa. On that part of the Uḍar which lies to the north-east and towards the Badrihāl Nāla, there is a whole series of ruined structures. Among these three great buildings attract attention. At some distance from this group of ruins there is another smaller one, at the south-eastern extremity of the plateau now known as *Gurdan*.

I must refer for a detailed account of these ruins and their relative position to Note *F* (iv. 194-204). Here it will suffice to point out that the four great temples of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava, Muktākeśava, Mahāvarāha, and Govardhanadhara as well as the Rājavihāra, with its colossal image of Buddha, which Kalhaṇa mentions as Lalitāditya's chief structures at Parihāsapura, must all be looked for among these ruins. Their extremely decayed condition makes an attempt at detailed identification difficult.

Still less we can hope to trace now the position of the numerous shrines, Liṅgas, Vihāras, etc., which are mentioned by Kalhaṇa as having been erected at the king's favourite residence by his queens and court.[13] One of the great ruins of the northern group shows features characteristic of a Vihāra and may be the *Rājavihāra.* Some clue is also furnished by the name *Gurdan* attaching to the isolated ruins above mentioned. Gurdan is the common Kaśmīrī form of the name *Govardhana*, and hence points to these ruins being the remains of the temple called GOVARDHANA DHARA.

Later history of Parihāsapura :

The state of utter destruction in which the ruins of Parihāsapura are now found, is easily accounted for by the history of the site. Parihāsapura ceased to be the royal residence already under the son of its founder.[14] When a century later King Avantivarman effected his great regulation of the Vitastā, the bed of the river and its junction with the Sindhu was diverted to Shād'pūr, nearly three miles away from Parihāsapura.[15] This change must have still more seriously diminished the importance of the latter. The ruinous condition into which Parihāsapura must have fallen only one and a half centuries after its foundation, is shown by the fact that Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) carried away from it materials for the construction of his new town and temples at Pattana (Paṭan).[16]

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[13] See iv. 207-216.
[14] iv. 395.
[15] See above, § 70.

Some of the shrines of Parihāsapura, however, survived to a later period, and a great festival established here by Lalitāditya seems to have been held still in Kalhṇa's time.[17] In the rising which led to the downfall of Harṣa, Parihāsapura was occupied by the pretender Uccala.[18] The steep slopes of the plateau and the marshes around made it a position of military value. When Uccala had suffered a defeat some of the routed rebels threw themselves into the Rājavihāra, which was subsequently burned down. After this Harṣa carried away and broke up the famous silver statue of Visṇu which had been placed by Lalitāditya in the temple of Parihāsakeśava.

The final destruction of the temples is

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[16] See v. 161.

[17] See iv. 242 sq. For the Rāmasvāmin temple seen empty in Kalhaṇa's time, compare iv. 275, 334 sq.

[18] vii. 1326 sqq.

attributed by Abū-l-Fazl and the Muhammadan chroniclers to Sikandar Būtshikast. The former records the tradition that after the destruction of the lofty temple of 'Paraspūr' a copper tablet with a Sanskrit inscription was discovered which predicted its destruction 'after the lapse of eleven hundred years' by one Sikandar.[19] This prophecy, *post factum*, shows that its author, whoever he may have been, was rather weak in historical chronology. Parihāsapura had been founded only about six and a half centuries before Sikandar Būtshikast's time.[20] At the beginning of the eighteenth century the ruins seem still to have been in a somewhat better condition than now. Both Muḥammad Azīm and Nārāyaṇ Kaul mention them and speak particularly of fragments of a large monolithic column. Tradition seems to have connected these fragments with the pillar of Garuḍa which Kalhaṇa mentions as having been set up by Lalitāditya.[21] The huge square block of stone still visible on the top of the northernmost mound is perhaps one of them.

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[19] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, p. 364.

[20] Exactly the same tradition is now current among the Purohitas ot Vij^{a}bror about the destruction of the Vijayeśvara image. This alleged inscription is said to have run : *Ekādaśaśatam varṣam Sikendaramahābala bismilla iti mantreṇa naśyante Vijayeśvarāḥ* ॥. The curious Sanskrit of this doggrel is an indication that its author may probably have belonged himself to the noble guild of the Bāchbaṭṭas.

Trigrāmī :

122. We have already above when describing the old bed of the Vitastā near Parihāsapura, had occasion to refer to the village of *Trigām*, the ancient TRIGRAMI. It lies about one and a half miles to the north-east of the Parᵊspōr ruins. It is mentioned already in Lalitāditya's time in connection with an affray which took place at Parihāsapura.[22] The *Bōnᵊsar* (*Bhavanasaras ?) lake to the west of Trigām is visited as a Tīrtha in connection with the Kapālamocana pilgrimage. The ruined temple south of Trigām which I believe may be identified with the VAINYASVAMIN temple, has already been mentioned in our remarks on the site of the old confluence.

Phalapura :

A ruined site which lies opposite to Vainyasvāmin on the western side of the Trigām swamp may, for reasons set forth elsewhere, be taken for the old *Viṣṇusvāmin* temple.[23] This is named by Kalhaṇa as having been situated opposite to the Vainyasvāmin shrine on the other side of the old confluence. The passage of the Chronicle describes the temple of Viṣṇusvāmin as belonging already to Phalapura, while Vainyasvāmin was counted with Parihāsapura. From this and some other indications I conclude that PHALAPURA was the designation of a small territorial subdivision which probably extended along the present left bank of the Vitastā near S̲h̲ād'pūr.[24] The site at which I locate the Visṇusvāmin temple was included in recent times in the riverain Pargaṇa of Sāiru-l-mawāzi' Pāyīn (map 'Salimozapaieen'). This, we know from Abū-l-Fazl, was erected already before Akbar's time and probably absorbed Phalapura as well as other minor tracts.[25] Phalapura had received its designation from a locality of that name which Lalitāditya had founded apparently before

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[21] Compare WILSON, *Essay*, p. 50 ; also footnote 16 to Note *F*.

[22] See iv. 323 sqq.

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[23] Compare Note *I*, v. 97-100, § 12.

[24] See Note *I*, § 13.

[25] See *Aīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 367.

Parihāsapura,[26] just as the latter gave its name to the Par͏ᵃspōr Pargaṇa.

Jayavura:

Descending by the left bank of the Vitastā for about five miles below S͟hād'pūr we approach the site of King Jayāpīḍa's capital, the ancient JAYAPURA.[27] It is marked by the present village of *Andᵊrkōṭh*. This consists of two distinct parts. One lies on an island in the marshes opposite Sәmbal, and the other facing the former on the strip of land separating these marshes from the Vitastā. On the island there are conspicuous remains of ancient temples which have been first examined and describe by Prof. Bühler.[28] They are attributed by the local tradition to King 'Jayāpiḍ.' The identity of Andᵊrkōṭh with King Jayāpīḍa's town is well known also to the Śrīnagar

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[26] Compare iv. 184, 673.

[27] For details as to the position of the twin towns Jayapura-Dvāravatī, see note iv. 506-511. The map of Parihāsapura shows the site on a larger scale.

[28] See *Report*, pp. 13 sqq. were the topography and ruins of Andᵊrkoth are described in detail. General Cunningham had already heard of the identity of Andᵊrkoth with Jayāpīḍa's town, but he does not seem to have visited the place; *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 101.

Paṇḍits. As Śrīvara still uses the term Jayapura or Jayāpīḍapura for the designation of the present Andᵊrkoth, we can easily understand the survival of the tradition.

Kalhaṇa's description of the town indicates clearly the situation of the latter and also accounts for its modern name. Jayāpīḍa, according to this notice, had the castle (*koṭṭa*) of Jayapura built in the middle of a lake, after having the ground required for it filled up, as the legend asserts by the help of Rākṣasas. There he constructed a large Vihāra with Buddha images, a temple of Keśava (Viṣṇu) and several other shrines. Other sacred structures were erected by his ministers. Besides Jayapura the king built on ground recovered from the lake, another place called DVARAVATI in imitation of Kṛṣṇa's famous town by the seashore. Kalhaṇa notes that in his own time Jayapura was popularly designated as the 'Inner Castle' (*abhyantara koṭṭa*) while Dvāravatī was known as the 'Outer Castle' (*bāhya koṭṭa*).

Dvāravatī :

The present name Andᵊrkōth (from Skr. **Antarakoṭṭa*) is the direct derivative of this popular designation of Jayapura. It has in the course of time been extended alo to the site on which originally Dvāravatī stood. In my note on the passage I have shown that Jayapura must be identified with the island portion of Andᵊrkōṭh, while the remains in that part of the village which lies on the lake shore opposite, belong to Dvāravatī. These remains are far less extensive than those on the island. This is in full agreement with the fact that Kalhaṇa mentions great religious buildings only in Jayapura and not in Dvāravatī. The latter is, indeed, referred to only in connection with the foundation of Jayapura and does not appear to have ever been a place of importance. We can thus understand why its original name Dvāravatī and its subsequent designation 'Outer Castle' have both completely disappeared. The distance between the island and the opposite lake shore being only about four hundred yards at the narrowest point, the name of the far more important 'Inner Castle' was naturally extended also to this outlying suburb.

Position of *Jayapura* :

The term *koṭṭa* which Kalhaṇa repeatedly applies to Jayapura, and which is contained also in its popular designation, is justified by its position surrounded on all sides by water.[29] The limited extent of the island precludes the belief of Jayapura ever having been a populous place. But it retained a certain importance far longer than Parihāsapura and served occasionally as a royal residence even in late times. To it retired Queen Koṭā, the last of the Hindu rulers of Kaśmīr, and there she was murdered by her husband, the adventurer Shāhmīr (A.D. 1339).[30] Zainu-l-'ābidīn restored the town which had fallen into decay, and built there a new palace on the lake-shore.[31]

We have no distinct information as to the old course which the Vitastā followed in the neighbourhood of Jayapura previous to Avantivarman's regulation. If our explanations on the subject as above indicated are right, the main channel of the river must have then passed through the marshes west of Jayapura. Notwithstanding the change subsequently effected, Jayāpīḍa's town did not lose its convenient access to river communication. The great canal known as *Nōr* which as we saw, is in reality nothing but an old river-bed, lies only a short distance to the south-west of Andᵃrkōṭh. A branch of it which is much used by boats even at the present day though not shown on the map, still passes actually along the old Ghāṭs on the South side of the Andᵃrkōṭh island. It seems probable that Jayapura owed its preservation from the fate of Parihāsapura in part at least to the retention of a convenient waterway. In Abu-l-Fazl's time Andᵃrkōṭh gave its name to a separate small Pargaṇa.

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[29] iv. 506, 512 ; vii. 1625. Śrīvara, iv. 540, 545, uses the expression *durga*, 'fort'.
[30] See *Jonar*. 300.
[31] See *Śrīv*. i. 250 sqq.

District of *Bhāṅgila* :

123. From the marshy tracts south of the Volur which we have approached at Andᵃrkōṭh we may return once more to Parᵃspōr. Crossing the swamps formed west of the Parᵃspōr plateau by the Sukhnāg and other hill streams, we come to the considerable district of *Bāngil*. It is often referred in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the other Chronicles by its ancient name of BHANGILA.[32] No old localities belonging to it are mentioned in our texts unless we may count with Bāngil the closely adjacent *Paṭan* situated on the shore of the Pambasar marsh, circ. 74° 37′ long. 34° 10′ lat.

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[32] See note vii. 498.

Śamkarapura-Pattana :

This large village occupies the site chosen by King *Śaṁ*karavarman (A.D. 883-902) for the town which was to bear his name.[33] Kalhaṇa, however, informs us that *Śaṁkarapura* "subsequently lost its proper appellation and became known only by the name PATTANA, 'the town." [34] This somewhat general designation still survives in the present *Paṭan.* Kalhaṇa sees in this disappearance of the original appellation the just retribution of fate for the king's cruelty and other bad qualities. Yet the old name must have long lingered on by the side of the popular 'Pattana.' For Ksemendra mentions *Śaṁ*karapura, and Kalha*ṇ*a himself speaks of the 'town' of *Śaṁ*karavarman' when subsequently referring to events of his own time.[35] Pa*ṇḍ*it tradition, too, has retained a recollection of the founder of Pattana and its original name.

*Śaṁ*karavarman is said to have carried off "whatever was of value at Parihasapura" in order to raise the fame of his own town. At the same time Kalha*ṇ*a plainly tells us that

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[33] See note v. 156.

[34] Compare v. 213.

[35] Compare *Samay*. ii. 13; *Rājat*. viii. 2488 3130.

"what gave fame to that town was only what is still to be found at Pattana—manufacture of woollen cloths, trade in cattle and the like."[36]

The only ancient remains of any pretension which can now be found at Paṭan, are, in fact, the ruins of the two temples which were erected there by Śa*m*karavarman and his queen Sugandhā.[37] These shrines which bore the names of Sa*m*karagaurīśa and Sugandheśa, are structures of no great dimensions and are without the fine quadrangular courts which enclose all more important Kaśmīrian temples. They have been fully described by General Cunningham ond others. Kalhaṇa, when mentioning these buildings, ironically alludes to kings who, like bad poets, take the materials for their works from others' property. This combined with the immediately following mention of Śa*m*karavarman's exploitation of Parihāsapura makes it probable that the building materials for these very temples were taken from the ruins of Parihāsapura. This could have easily been done owing to the convenient water-route offered by the marshes which stretch between

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[36] v. 161 sq.

[37] Compare note v. 158.

Parᵊspōr and Paṭan—a distance of only seven miles.

Though Śaṁkarapura owed thus to its founder but little that could secure distinction, yet the site he had chosen for it was one likely to retain some importance. Paṭan still lies on the direct road between Śrīnagar and Bārāmula, reckoned at two daily marches, and has probably always just as now been the half-way station between the two places. Considering that Bārāmūla is the starting-point of the route to the west, traffic and trade were thus sure to be attracted to Śaṁkaravarman's town. We find it referred to as a local centre still in Kalhaṇa's time, and it has remained to the present day a large and thriving place.

Paṭan figures as a separate Pargaṇa in Abū-l-Fazl's list. A popular tradition has it that when Tōdar Mal, Akbar's minister. was arranging for the redistribution of Pargaṇas, he inadvertently omitted the Paṭan village at which he was just then encamped. To remedy the mistake paṭan with its immediate vicinity was made into an additional Pargaṇa.[38] However this may be, we find Paṭan subsequently named as the chief place of the Tilᵃgām Pargaṇa.[39] At the last settlement it became the headquarters of one of the new Taḥṣīls.

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[38] See BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 2.

The Pambasar lake which stretches to the east of Paṭan as far as the 'Gond Ibrahim' and 'Adin River' of the map, is referred to by Kalhaṇa under the name of PAMPASARAS. King Harṣa seems to have extended or regulated it.[40] The Karēwa ground to the west of Paṭan with the valleys which intersect it, forms the Pargaṇa of Tilᵃgām. It is mentioned in the Fourth Chronicle, 780, by the name of TAILAGRAMA.

Pratāpapura :

About four miles to the north-west of Paṭan and on the high road to Bārāmūla lies *Tāpar*, a considerable village. On the evidence of an old gloss and several passages of the Chronicles it can be safely identified with the ancient PRATAPAPURA.[41] The latter was founded by King Pratāpāditya-Durlabhaka, the father of Lalitāditya, probably in the second half of the seventh century. Remains of old temples were extant at Tāpar till a few years ago.

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[39] See MOORCROFT, ii. p. 113 ; VIGNE, ii. p. 166.

[40] See note vii. 940.

[41] Compare note iv. 10.

District of Kruhin :

124. The district through which the Vitastā flows immediately before leaving the Valley, bears now the name of *Kruhin.* The ancient form of this name is unknown unless the Lokaprakāśa's 'Krodhanaviṣaya' may be connected with the tract. Kruhin extends along both sides of the river, but its greatest portion lies on the left bank.

Kaniṣkapura :

Proceeding on the road towards Bārāmūla and at a distance of about six miles from the latter place, we pass on our right the village of *Kānispōr.* It is identified by an old glossator of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and by the Persian Chroniclers with the ancient KANISKAPURA. The latter is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a town founded by the Turuṣka king Kaniṣka,[42] whom we know as the great Indo-Scythian or Kuṣana ruler from the coins, inscriptions, and the Buddhist tradition. There are no conspicuous remains above ground at Kānispōr, but ancient coins and carved stones are occasionally extracted from an old mound near the village.

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[42] Compare note i. 168. General Cunningham's suggested identification of Kaniṣkapura with 'Kāmpor,' on the road from Srīnagar to Supiyan, is untenable. The place is really called *Khāmpor* and has no ancient remains whatever.

We have already had occasion to speak of the important position occupied by the ancient twin towns HUSKAPURA and VARAHAMULA. Built on the banks of the Vitastā, immediately above the gorge through which the river leaves the Valley, they form the starting-point on the great route of communication to the west. It is unnecessary to refer here again to the commercial and other advantages which have made this site one of great importance from ancient times to the present day.

Varāhamūla :

Varāhamūla, situated on the right river-bank, has left its name to the present town of *Varahmul*, usually called *Bārāmūla* by Panjābīs and other foreigners.[48] The name Varāhamūla or Vārāhamūla--both forms occur in our texts--is itself derived from the ancient Tīrtha of Viṣṇu Ādi-Varāha, who was worshipped here evidently since early times. From it the site of the town and its old neighbourhood received also the designation of *Varāhakṣetra.* Various legends related at length in the Varāhakṣetra-māhātmya and often alluded to in the Nīlamata and the other Māhātmyas, connect this sacred site and the Tīrthas of the immediate neighbourhood with the Varāha or Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. An abstract of these legends as well as an accurate description of the scanty remains of ancient date to be found at the several Tīrthas has been given by Prof. Būhler.[44]

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[48] For detailed references regarding *Varāhamūla* and *Varāhakṣetra,* see note vi. 186.

The ancient temple of Varāha which seems to have been one of the most famous shrines of Kaśmīr, is repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa. According to the tradition of the local Purohitas it stood near the site of the present *Koṭitīrtha*, at the western extremity of the town and close to the river-bank. Some ancient Liṅgas and sculptures found at the Koṭitīrtha may have originally belonged to the temple. The destruction of its sacred image is noted by Jonarāja in the reign of Sikandar Būtshikast.[45] A short distance below this site where a steep spur runs down to the river-bed, stood the ancient watch-station, still known as *Drang*, which has already been described. A bridge over the Vitastā existed at Varāhamūla already in old times.[46] It cannot be doubted that Varāhamūla is a very ancient place. It enjoys the advantage of being on the right river-bank, which is followed by the old route down the Vitastā Valley. But on the other hand, the contracted nature of the ground which it occupies between the hillside and the river, did not favour the development of a large town. On this account we find that the twin town of Huṣkapura built on the open plain of the opposite bank was in ancient times the larger of the two places.

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[44] See *Report*, pp. 11 sqq.

[45] Compare *Jonar.* 600.

Huṣkapura:

HUSKAPURA is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the town built by king Huṣka, the Turuṣka, and is often referred to in this subsequent narrative.[47] Its name survives in that of the small village of *Uṣkür*, situated about two miles to the south-east of the present Bārāmūla. The identity of Uṣkür and Huṣkapura, correctly noted already by General Cunningham,[48] is well known to Śrīnagar Paṇḍits and is indicated also by an old glossator of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Kalhaṇa in one passage distinctly includes Huṣkapura within Varāhakṣetra, i.e. the sacred environs of the Varāha Tīrtha,[49] and the same location is implied by numerous other references in the Chronicle. The King Huṣka of the Rājatarangini has long ago been identified with the Indo-Scythian ruler who succeeded Kaniṣka, the Huviṣka of the inscriptions and the OOHpKI of the coins. The foundation of Huṣkapura falls thus within the first or second century of our era. Hiuen Tsiang, as we saw, spent his first night after passing through 'the western entrance of the kingdom,' in a convent of *Huse-kia-lo* or Huṣkapura. Albērūnī, too, knows 'Ūshkārā' opposite to Bārāmūla.

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[46] See viii. 413.

[47] For detailed references as to Huṣkapura: Uṣkur, see note i. 168.

Kalhaṇa mentions Huṣkapura far more frequently than Varāhamūla. The conclusion to be drawn herefrom as to the relative importance of the two places in Hindu times is confirmed by the frequent references which the Chronicle makes to religious buildings erected in Huṣkapura Of King Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa it is recorded that he built there the great temple of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin and a large Vihāra with a Stūpa.[50] Kṣemagupta who sought the sacred soil of Vārāhakṣetra in his fatal illness, had founded two Maṭhas at Huṣkapura.[51] At present foundations of ancient buildings can be traced at numerous points of the plain which stretches from the left river-bank towards the low hills behind Uṣkūr. These remains as well as two colossal Liṅgas still *in situ* have already been noted by Bishop Cowie.[52]

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[48] See *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 99 sqq.

[49] See vi. 186.

Stūpa at Uṣkur :

About four hundred yards to the west of the village are the much damaged remains of a Stūpa, which had been found still intact by Bishop Cowie and photographed in that condition by Major Cole (1870). Subsequently it was dug into and partly levelled down 'by some Ṣāhib's order,' as the villagers told me. Of this excavation I have not been able to trace a report. But General Cunningham refers to an ancient coin of the Tāxila type which was found in this Stūpa and had come into his possession.[53] It is possible that this Stūpa was identical with the one which King Lalitāditya erected at Huṣkapura. Of the Vihāra which Kalhaṇa mentions in connection with the king's Stūpa, I have shown elsewhere that it was in all probability the same convent which Ou-k'ong refers to under the name of *Moung-ti* Vihāra.[54] The *Moung-ti* of the Chinese transcription seems to represent a prakritized form of the shortened name *Mukta* or *Muktā*. The latter forms, which are abbreviations (bhimavat) for Muktāpīḍa, occur also in the designations of other religious buildings erected by that king (Muktākeśava, Muktasvāmin).

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[50] See iv. 188.
[51] vi 186.
[52] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, p. 123.

As we do not meet with the name of Huṣkapura in any of the later Chronicles it may be assumed that its importance did not survive the time of Hindu rule.

SECTION IX.—NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF KRAMARAJYA.

125. The ancient localities in the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla have been noted by

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[53] See *Coins of anc. India*, p. 62.

[54] Compare note iv. 188, also *Notes on Ouk'ong*, pp. 5 sqq.

us already in connection with the route which leads through it. We may therefore proceed now to those Parganas of the old Kramarājya which lie to the north of the river and the Volur lake.

District of *Śamālā*:

The district which adjoins Kruhin in this direction, is known as *Hamal* (map 'Hummel'). Its ancient name was ŚAMALA from which the former designation is the direct phonetic derivative.[1] Śamālā is very frequently mentioned in the last two Books of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, particularly on account of its feudal chiefs or Ḍāmaras who played a prominent part in all the civil wars of the later reigns. The pretender Bhikṣācara in particular, had his most powerful adherents in Śamālā and often took refuge with them. The village of VANAGRAMA which is mentioned on one of these occasions, is probably identical with the present Vangām, situated circ. 74° 25′ long. 34° 19′ lat.[2] *Kākaruha*, another place in Śamālā, referred to in connection with Bhikṣācara's campaigns, can no longer be traced.

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[1] See note vii. 159.
[2] See viii. 1438.

Tīrtha of *Svayambhū* :

To the north of Hamal we reach the Pargaṇa of Machⁱpūr (map 'Mochipoora'). Its ancient name is nowhere mentioned. In it lies the sacred site of SVAYAMBHU which owing to the apparently volcanic phenomenon there observed, has from early times been renowned as a Tīrtha. Kalhaṇa in his introduction duly notes the 'Self-created Fire' (*Svayaṁbhū*), which "rising from the womb of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers." [3]

The spot meant is still known as *Svayaṁbhū* or to the villagers as *Suyam*. It lies on a low ridge about half a mile south-west of the village of Nichᵊhōm (not shown on map) and about one and a half miles north of Tsakᵊvaḍar (map 'Sheikwadda'). Visiting it in 1892 I found there in a shallow hollow the soil bright red like burned clay and furrowed by narrow fissures. In certain years steam has been known to issue from these fissures. The ground then becomes sufficiently hot to boil the Śrāddha offerings of the pilgrims who at such times flock to the site in great numbers. The phenomenon which may be either truly volcanic or, according to a modern authority, be caused by hidden seams of coal taking fire, was last observed in the year 1876. Occurrences at the beginning of the present century are referred to by Mr. Vigne and Dr. Falconer.[4] Abū-l-Fazl, too, mentions the phenomenon at 'Soyam.'[5] Considering the rarity of the occasion when this manifestation of the 'Self-created Fire' is observed and the pilgrimage performed, the total absence of ancient remains around cannot surprise us. There is, however, a Māhātmya of the Tīrtha, and the latter is also referred to in the Nīlamata.

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[3] See i. 34, and for further references the note thereon.

Varhaṭacakra:

A pilgrimage which King Uccala (A.D. 1101-11) made to Svayaṁbhū, gives Kalhaṇa occasion to acquaint us with some localities of the neighbourhood.[6] The king who was stopping in Kramarājya, is said to have started for the village of VARHATACAKRA with a small retinue to see there the miracle. On his way which took him past the village of KAMBALESVARA, he was set upon in a deep mountain gorge by robbers from whom he escaped only with difficulty. I believe the places mentioned in connection with this adventure can still be identified without difficulty. Varhaṭacakra is probably the present Tsak^{a}vaḍar, *Tsak^a* being the ordinary Kś. form for Skr. *cakra* and *vaḍar*, the phonetic derivative of *Varhaṭa*.[7] Cases of village names in which the two component parts being originally distinct names can alternate in their position, are by no means unfrequent in Kaśmir. Thus we have now Dārā-Sād^{a}pōr and Sād^{a}pōr-Dārā, etc.

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[4] See VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 280; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 42.

[5] *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 365.

[6] Compare note viii. 250 sq.

Kambaleśvara :

In Kambaleśvara we may safely recognize the present village of *Krambhar*, situated about six miles north-east of Svayaṁbhū ; for the ending *-har* as the derivative of Skr. *-eśvara* compare Triphar > Tripureśvara, etc.[8] The way from Krambhar to Svayaṁbhū leads through the valley of the Panjtar stream. The latter, as I convinced myself by personal inspection on a tour in 1892, passes above Rājpōr through a narrow and thickly-wooded gorge. The path following the tortuous course of the stream at the bottom of the gorge offers excellent opportunities for an ambuscade such as described by Kalhaṇa.

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[7] For medial Skr. *r* > Kś. *ḍ* compare e.g. *Bhaṭṭārā-ka* [maṭha > *Braḍ^i* [mar ; for *ṭ* > *r* e.g. *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* > *Kaṣṭ^{a}vār.*

Badᵊrkāl, a small village about four miles south-east of Krambhar, has a small local Tīrtha marked by a spring and some old Liṅgas. It is visited on the pilgrimage to Svayaṁbhū and mentioned by the name of BHADRAKALI in the Māhātmya of the latter.

District of *Uttara*:

126. The Pargaṇa of Uttar stretching along the foot of the range towards the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā, forms the extreme north-west of the Kaśmīr Valley. A passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī records its ancient name UTTARA and refers also to

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[8] For detailed evidence on the phonetic points alluded to, see note viii. 250.

GHOSA as a locality situated in it.[9] The place meant is undoubtedly the present *Guṣ* situated in the centre of Uttar, near the confluence of the Kāmil River and the stream coming from Lōlau. It is the starting-point for the Śāradā pilgrimage and is mentioned correctly as *Ghoṣa* in the Śāradāmāhātmya.

About ten miles higher up the Kāmil River lies the village of Pānz'gām, circ. 74° 7′ long. 34° 29′ lat. I take its position from Major Bates' Gazetteer ; the 'Atlas of India, map does not show the place. It is in all probability identical with PANCIGRAMI, mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the surrender of the pretender Bhoja.[10] I have not been able to visit this portion of the district, and Major Bates' reference to Pānz'gām attracted my attention only after the preparation of my map.[11]

Dranga Hāvāśrama :

In the extreme north-east of Uttar and within a mile of each other we have the old villages of Drang and H*ā*y^{a}hōm, referred to by Kalhaṇa under their ancient designations of DRANGA and HAYASRAMA.[12] The former place, as its name shows, marks the position of an old frontier watch-station towards the Kiṣangaṅgā. We have already seen that there is a route leading past it to Śardi, the ancient Tīrtha of Śāradā, situated on that river. Draṅga and Hāyāśrama are both mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the siege of the Śiraḥśilā castle which took place in his own time. A brief reference may therefore be made here to this stronghold and the neighbouring shrine of Ś*ā*rad*ā*, though they are both situated outside the limits of the Kaśmīr Valley.

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[9] See vi. 281.

[10] See viii. 3124.

[11] There seems to be good reason to suspect that TĀRAMŪLAKA, a place repeatedly referred to in

Tīrtha of *Śāradā*:

127. The introduction of the R*ā*jataraṅgiṇī

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connection with Bhoja's last campaign, lay somewhere in or near Uttar. Unfortunately this locality, which is of importance also for other portions of Kalhaṇa's narrative, has not yet been identified; see note vii. 1307.

[12] For *Draṅga*, see note viii. 2507, also Note *B*, i. 37, §2; for *Hāyāśrama* note viii. 2937.

mentions the temple of the goddess *Śāradā* amongst the foremost Tīrthas of Kaśmīr.[13] It was well known even far beyond the frontiers of Kaśmīr. Albērūnī had heard of it,[14] and a story recorded in a Jaina life of the great grammarian Hemacandra proves that its fame had spread even to far-off Gujrāt. Notwithstanding this former celebrity the *Śāradā* shrine is now almost completely forgotten by the Paṇḍits of *Śrīnagar* and the great mass of the Brahman population of the Valley. Fortunately, however, tradition has been more tenacious in the immediately adjoining tracts of Kamrāz. Guided by it I was able to ascertain the position of the ancient Tīrtha at the present *Śardi*, situated circ. 74° 15′ long. 34° 48′ lat. on the right bank of the Kiṣangaṅgā.

In Note *B*, i. 37, I have given a detailed account of the tour which in 1892 led me to the Tīrtha, as well as a description of the ancient temple still extant at the site. The situation of this shrine corresponds exactly to Kalhaṇa's words in the above passage. Immediately in front of it the sacred stream of the MADHUMATI falls into the Kiṣangaṅgā, while another confluence, that with the SARASVATI river coming from the north, is also visible from the temple. In Jonarāja's time the shrine was still sufficiently popular to attract a visit even from Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn.[15] Soon afterwards, apparently, the miracle-working image of the goddess was destroyed. Abū-l-Fazl, however, still notes the sanctity of the site and correctly indicates its position on the bank of the Madhumatī.[16] The subsequent neglect of this Tīrtha must be ascribed chiefly to the obstacles to the pilgrimage which arose from the troubled political condition of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley. It is only since the advent of the Sikhs that the pilgrimage to Śāradā's seat was once more revived. These difficulties have probably helped to create the several substitute Tīrthas of Śāradā which are now to be found in various parts of Kaśmīr proper.

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[13] The position and history of the temple of Śāradā have been fully discussed in Note *B*, i. 37.

[14] See *India*, i. p. 117.

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[15] *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1056-71. The visit apparently took place A.D. 1422.

[16] *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 365 sq. Abū-l-Fazl places Sāradā's stone temple "at two days' distance from *Hāehāmūn*," i. e. Hāyə hom.

Castle of *Śirahṣilā :*

My visit to the old Śaradāshāna also enabled me to identify with certainty the site of the Śɪʀᴀʜsɪʟᴀ Castle. The latter had been the scene of a memorable siege by King Jayasiṁha's troops which Kalhaṇa describes at length.[17] The accurate topographical data furnished in this account prove clearly that the castle occupied the top of the steep ridge which projects into the Kiṣangaṅgā valley about two and a half miles below the Śāradā temple. The several incidents of the siege, in particular those connected with the attempted escape of the pretender Bhoja, became at once easily intelligible on a close inspection of this site. The ridge bears now the name of *Gaṇeś Ghāṭi* from a curious rock formation on its side which resembles the head of an elephant, and is accordingly worshipped as a 'Svayaṁbhū' representation of the elephant-faced god. It is very probable that the older name Śiraḥśilā which means literally 'the rock of the head,' owed its origin also to this very rock.

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[17] viii. 2492-2709. The position of *Śiraḥśilā* and the evidence for its identity with the 'Gaṇeś Ghāṭi' hill have been fully discussed in Note L, viii. 2492.

District of Lolau and Zainᵃgīr :

128. Returning from our excursion to the Kiṣangaṅgā and the confines of the Dard country, we enter immediately to the east of Drang-Hāyᵃhōm, the Pargaṇa usually called *Lōlāb.* Its proper Kaśmīrī name is *Lōlau*, derived from Skr. LAULAHA.[18] In the picturesque valley which forms this district, no old localities can be specified.

The Lōlau is adjoined on the south by the Pargaṇa of Zainᵃgīr which comprises the fertile Karēwa tract between the Volur and the left bank of the Pohur River. It received its present name from Zainu-l-ʻābidīn, who is credited with having carried irrigation canals from the Pohur to the Uḍar ground of JAINAGIRI.[19] The earlier name of this tract can no longer be traced.

Suyyapura :

The chief place in it is the town of Sōpūr, the ancient SUYYAPURA, the foundation of which by Suyya, Avantivarman's engineer, has already been mentioned.[20] Sōpūr, which lies a short distance below the point where the Vitastā leaves the Volur, has retained its importance to this day, and is still a town of over 8000 inhabitants. It has during recent times been the official headquarters for the whole of Kamrāz. From a passage of Śrīvara it appears that this had been the case already at an earlier period.[21] Relating a great conflagration which destroyed Suyyapura in Zainu-l-'ābidīn's time, this Chronicler tells us that in it perished the whole of the official archives relating to Kramarājya. The royal residence, however, escaped, and the town itself was again built up by the king in great splendour. Of this, however, nothing has remained; nor does the town show now old remains of any interest.

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[18] Compare note vii. 1241.

[19] See *Jonar.* (Bo ed.), 1449-56; also *Śrīv.* i. 562 sq.; iii. 59, 78.

The suggested identity of the village *Zōlur* (map 'Zohlar') in the north-west part of Zainᵃgīr with JALORA once mentioned from Helārāja's list as a foundation of King Janaka,[22] is doubtful, resting only on the resemblance of the names. The larger village of *Bumai* (map

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[20] Compare for *Suyyapura*; note v. 118.
[21] Compare *Śrīv*. i. 560 sqq.
[22] See i. 98.

'Bamhai'), situated 74° 30′ long. 34° 22′ lat., may be Kalhaṇa's BHIMATIKA. The name Bumai can be traced back without difficulty to the older form; but the context of the single passage in which Bhīmatikā is mentioned, does not supply any evidence as to its location.[23]

District of *Khūyāśrama*:

Round the north shore of the Volur lake there stretches in a semicircle the district of Khuyᵊhōm. Its ancient name is given by Kalhaṇa as KHUYASRAMA, while Śrīvara and the Lokaprakāśa call it with a slight variation Khoyāśrama.[24] The old route which led up the Madhumatī stream and over the Pass of DUGDHAGHATA or Dudᵃkhut into the Darad territory on the Kiṣangaṅgā, has been already fully described[25] In connection with a Darad invasion which was directed into Kaśmīr by this route, we read of MATRGRAMA as the place where the invading force encamped.[26] This is certainly the present village of *Mātrᵊgōm*, situated close to the foot of the Trāg^{a}bal Pass, circ. 74° 43′ long. 34° 28′ lat. It lies just at the point where the route along the Madhumatī debouches into an open valley, and is the first place where a larger camp could conveniently be formed.

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[23] Compare vii. 6; as to the phonetic relation of *Bumai* > *Bhīmatikā*, comp. **Bum**. [zu: Bhīma[keśava.

[24] See note viii. 2695-98.

[25] See above, § 56.

[26] See viii. 2775.

The tract on the north-east shore of the Volur appears in old times to have formed a separate small subdivision called EVENAKA. It is once mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and also referred to in the Tīrthasa*m*graha.[27] But the evidence is not sufficient for a certain location. To it may possibly have belonged also the village of *Sud^{ə}rkōṭh*, circ. 74° 43′ long. 34° 18′ lat., which Śrīvara refers to by the name of SAMUDRAKOTA.[28]

District of *Lahara :*

129. We have now reached the vicinity of the Sind Valley which forms the largest of the Parganas of Kaśmīr. The district now known as *Lār* comprises the whole of the valleys drained by the Sind and its tributaries

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[27] Compare note viii. 2695-98.

[28] See *Śrīv*. i. 400.

as well as the alluvial tract on the right bank of that river after its entry into the great Kaśmīr plain. Its ancient name was LAHARA, and by this it is mentioned in very numerous passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles.[29] The lands of the district seem to have been from early times in the hands of great territorial nobles. One family of Ḍāmaras resident in Lahara was powerful enough for its members to play the part of true king-makers during reigns following after Harṣa.[30] It is probable that the great trade route to Ladākh and Central Asia which passes through the district, added already in old times to its wealth and importance.

Tīrtha of *Tūlamūlya* :

In the midst of the wide water-logged tract of the Sind Delta we find the ancient Tīrtha of TULAMULYA at the village now known as

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[29] Compare for the identification of *Lār* and *Lahara*, note v. 51. The authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary were already aware of it ; see *P.W.*, s.v. *Lahara*.

[30] Compare regarding the political part played by Janakacandra, Gargacandra and their descendants, viii. 15 sqq.; 354 sqq.; 502 sqq.; 1364 sqq.; etc. For an early instance of Ḍāmara power in Lahara, see v. 51 sqq.

Tulᵊmul, situated 74° 78′ long. 34° 13′ lat. The Purohita corporation of Tūlamūlya is represented as a well-to-do and influential body already under King Jayāpīḍa.[31] The large spring of Tūlamūlya is sacred to Mahārājñī, a form of Durgā, and is still held in great veneration by the Brahman population of Śrīnagar. It is supposed to exhibit from time to time miraculous changes in the colour of its water, which are ascribed to the manifestation of the goddess. Owing to its convenient position the Tīrtha attracts large numbers of pilgrims from the capital. Abū-l-Fazl notices the place and its marshy surroundings.[32] About two and a half miles to the east of Tulᵊmul lies the village of Dudᵊrhōm on the main branch of the Sind which here becomes first navigable. It is repeatedly referred to by Śrīvara under its old name of DUGDHASRAMA.[33]

Mayagrāma :

Ascending the valley we come to the large village of *Mañⁱgām*, situated a short distance from the right bank of the river, 74° 52′ long.

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[31] See note iv. 638.
[32] *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 364.
[33] *Śrīv.* iv.110, 136, 263.

34° 17′ lat. It is the MAYAGRAMA of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle mentioned in connection with a campaign of Bhikṣācara in Lahara.[34] In the time of King Saṃgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-28) Mayagrāma gave its name to a separate fund (*Mayagrāmīṇagañja*) which Queen Śrīlekhā had established evidently with the revenue assigned from this village.[35] Mañⁱgām-Mayagrāma still owns a large area of excellent rice-fields. The village itself contains no ancient remains. But a short distance above it, at the foot of the spur which leads up to a high alp known as Mohand Marg, there is an ancient stone-lined tank filled by a fine spring known as Vutᵃśan Nāg. This is visited as a Tīrtha by the Brahmans of the neighbourhood and is also mentioned under the name of *Uccaiḥśīrṇa Nāga* in the Haramukuṭa and several other Māhātmyas. About a mile above the village the high road leading up the valley passes a shapeless mound of large slabs which undoubtedly belonged to an ancient temple.

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[34] See viii. 729.

[35] Compare vii. 126.

Tīrtha of *Cīramocana*:

130. About four miles above Mañⁱgām we reach on the left bank of the Sind a site which has enjoyed sanctity since an early period. Close to the village of Prang (not shown on the map), situated circ. 74° 55′ 30″ long. 34° 16′ 45″ lat., a small branch of the Kānkᵃnai River (*Kanakavāhinī*) flows into the Sind. This confluence is now visited by the pilgrims proceeding to the Haramukuṭa lakes as one of the chief Tīrthas on the route. In the modern Haramukuṭamāhātmya it is designated as *Karaṅkatīrtha*. But I have shown that it is in reality identical with the ancient Tīrtha of CIRAMOCANA mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the Nīlamata and the old Nandikṣetramāhātmya.[36]

The Kānkᵃnai or Kanakavāhinī which is always named together with Cīramocana, is a sacred river, as it carries down the waters of the holy Gaṅgā-lake below the Haramukuṭa.[37] This explains the importance attached to this 'Saṁgama.' The Haramukuṭamāhātmya which betrays its comparatively recent origin by many of its local names, metamorphoses the old Kanavāhinī into *Karaṅkanadī* and consequently also changes the name of its confluence into *Karaṅkatīrtha.*[38] King Jalauka, the son of Aśoka, whom the Chronicle represents as a fervent worshipper of Śiva Bhūteśa and of Nandīśa, is said to have ended his days at Cīramocana.

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[36] See note i. 149-150.

[37] See above, § 57.

Tīrtha of *Bhūteśvara* :

Our survey has already taken us to the sacred sites of BHUTESVARA and JYESTHARUDRA marked by the ruined temples at the present *Buthśiēr* high up in the Kānkanai Valley. They are closely connected with the Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra below the Haramukuṭa glaciers which have also been described.[39] The village of *Vāngath*, which is the highest permanently inhabited place in this valley, lies about two miles below Buthiśēr. It is named VASISTHASRAMA in the Māhātmyas and is believed to mark the residence of the Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha. Allusions in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and Nīlamata show that this legendary location is of old date.[40] At the mouth of Kānkᵃnai valley and about two miles to the north-east of Cīramocana, is the hamlet of *Bāravul* which Kalhaṇa mentions as an Agrahāra of King Jalauka under the name of VARABALA.[41] A large sculptured Liṅga base which I found here in 1891, shows the antiquity of the place.

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[38] See regarding the popular etymology accounting for the change, aboue, § 31.

[39] See above, § 57; also notes i. 36, 107, 113; v. 55-59.

Upper Sind Valley :

131. Returning to the main Valley we find, about three miles above Cīramocana, the large village of *Kangan* situated on the right bank of the Sind. It is, perhaps, identical with KANKANAPURA which Queen Diddā is said to have founded in commemoration of her husband Kṣemagupta, known by the epithet ot 'Kaṅkaṇavarṣa.'[42]

No old localities can be identified with certainty in the Sind Valley until we reach the village of *Gagangīr*, situated two marches above Kangan, circ. 75° 75′ long. 34° 18′ lat. This is undoubtedly the GAGANAGIRI of Jonarāja and the Fourth Chronicle[43]. The place is mentioned in both texts in connection with invasions which were made into Kaśmīr over the Zōjī-Lā Pass. The first was that of the Bhauṭṭa Riñcana, the second the famous inroad of the Mughal leader, Mirza Ḥaidar (A. D. 1532).[44] The account which the latter himself has given us of his exploit, fully explains the special reference made to Gaganagiri by the Hindu Chronicler.

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[40] Compare note viii. 2430.

[41] See note i. 121.

[42] See vi. 301.

Defile of *Dhūḍāvana*:

About three miles above Gagangīr two rocky spurs descend from opposite sides into the valley and reduce it to a narrow gorge

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[43] Compare *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 197, and Fourth Chron. 316. The old name of the locality ought to have been entered in the map. The Bombay Ed. of the Fourth Chron. reads wrongly *gamananiryanta* for *gaganagiryanta* of the MSS.

[44] See *Tārikh-i Rashīdī*, p. 423. Mr. Elias in his note on the passage has quite correctly identified the defile meant by his author. The Fourth Chronicle names the autumn of the Laukika year [460]8 as the date of the event. This agrees exactly with Mirza Ḥaidar's A H. 939, Jamād II, (December, 1532 A.D.).

(see map). The path in this defile was, until recent improvements of the road, distinctly, difficult, as large fallen rocks blocked the narrow space between the right bank of the river and the high cliffs rising above it. It is at this point of the valley which Mirza Ḥaidar calls the 'narrow defile of Lār,' that the Kaśmīr chiefs vainly attempted to stop the brave Turks of the invader's advance guard.

Kalhaṇa's Chronicle shows that the defile here indicated had witnessed fighting already at an earlier epoch. When King Sussala's forces had driven Gargacandra, the great feudal chief, from his seats in Lahara, we are told that the Ḍāmara with his followers retired to the mountain called DHUDAVANA. There he was long besieged by the troops 'of the king who was encamped at the foot of the mountain.' In my note on the passage I have shown that the name *Dhūḍāvana* survives in *Dūruṇ Nār* (map 'Darnar'), the appellation of the high spur which descends into the Sind Valley from the south between Gagangīr and Sunᵃmarg[45]. It is exactly at the foot of this spur that the river passes through the gorge above described. The position taken up by the king's opponent is thus fully explained.

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[45] See note vii. 595 sqq.

Gagangīr being already 7400 feet above the sea is the last permanently inhabited place in the valley. Some twenty-five miles higher up we arrive at the Zōjī-Lā Pass. Here we have reached the limits of Kaśmīr as well as the end of our survey.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE *AA*—§ 29

MĀHĀTMYAS OF KAŚMĪR TĪRTHAS

The following is a complete list of the Māhātmya texts acquired by me in Kaśmīr. The numbers in the fourth column refer to the Manuscripts representing these texts in my collection Where the same text is found in several Manuscripts, the number of the best copy has been shown first. In the last column the Tīrtha to which the Māhātmya refers has been indicated as well as the paragraph of this Memoir in which it has been discussed.

Serial No	Name of Text	Alleged source	Nos. of MSS. in my collection	Remarks
1.	Amaranāthamāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	8, 7	Amareśvara, § 59
2.	Amareśvarakalpa	Vāthūlatantra	214	Ditto (Copied from Poona MS. No. 49)
3.	Ardhanārīśvaramāhātmya	Ādikalpa	251	Ardhanārīśvara, § 113
4.	Iśālayamāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Īśeśvara, § 103.
5.	Kapaṭeśvaramāhātmya	Haracaritacintāmaṇi	43	Kapaṭeśvara (Pāpasūdana), § 112.
6.	Kapālamocanamāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43, 19, 20, 21, 22	Kapālamocana, § 116

Serial No.	Name of Text	Alleged source	Nos. of MSS in my collection	Remarks
7.	Kedāratīrthamāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	49	Tīrtha in Varāhakṣetra.
8.	Kedārapurṇa		215	Tīrtha doubtful. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 54.)
9.	Koṭitīrthamāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	50	Koṭitīrtha. § 124.
10.	Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	216	Bheḍā Tīrtha, § 117 (Copied from Poona MS. No. 56.)
11.	Gayāmāhātmya		55	Gayā Tīrtha near Shādipūr.
12.	Gayāmāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	54	Ditto.
13.	Godāvarīmāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Godāvarī, § 115
14.	Jaṭāgaṅgāmāhātmya		43	Tīrtha at Gaṅgajaṭan, Bīru Pargaṇa.
15,	Jyeṣṭhādevīmāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Jyeṣṭheśvara, 102.
16.	Tripurāprādurbhāva	Bhrṇgiśasamhitā	43	Small Tīrtha near Kanye Kadal, Śrīnagar.
17.	Trisamdhyāmāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa, Nandīśvarāvatāra	43	Trisamdhyā, § 113.
18.	Trisamdhyāmāhātmya	Nandīśvarāvatāra, By Śrīśivasvāmin	67	Ditto.
19.	Dhyāneśvaramāhātmya		75	Tīrtha in hills of Khuyhom.
20.	Nandikṣetramāhātmya	Śarvāvatāra	77	Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra, § 57.

Serial No.	N of Text	Alleged source	Nos. of MSS. in my collection	Remarks
21.	Naubandhanamāhātmya		43,85,86	Naubandhana, § 41.
22.	Piṅgaleśvaramāhātmya	Haracaritacintāmaṇi	43,88	Small Tīrtha at Pingilyun (map Pinglin'), Chrāṭh Pargaṇa.
23.	Puṣkaramāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Puṣkara Tīrtha § 120.
24.	Bahurūpakalpa	Kaśmīratīrthamāhātmyasaṅgraha	95 96	Bahurūpa Nāga, § 12[illegible].
25.	Bhadrakālīprādurbhāva	Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan	97	Bhadrakāli, § 125.
26	Mahādevagirimāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	104	Mount Mahādeva, § 103
27.	Mahādevagirimāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Said to be in Shāhābād Pargaṇa.
28.	Maheśvarakuṇḍamāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Mārtāṅḍa § 111.
29.	Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya	Brahmapurāṇa, Kaśmīrakhaṇḍa	217,110	Ditto. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 78.)
30.	Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya	Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa	109	Ditto.
31.	Mitrapathamāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	218	(Copied from Poona MS. No. 80.)
32.	Yogyālaṅkaraṅamāhātmya		43	Tīrtha on Ḍal in Rān'vor quarter
33.	Rājñīprādurbhāva	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43,211	Tīrtha of Tūlamūlya, § 129.
34.	Rājñīmāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Ditto.

Serial No	Name of Text	Alleged source	Nos. of MSS in my collection	Remarks
35.	Varāhakṣetramāhātmya	Varāhapurāṇa	219,143, 144	Varāha Tīrtha, § 124. Also in Poona MS. No. 8 .
36.	Vardhamāneśamāhātmya		142	Vardhamāneśa temple, § 31.
37.	Vijayeśvaramāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	220	Vijayeśvara Tīrtha, § 109. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 77.)
38.	Vijayeśvaramāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā	152	Ditto.
39.	Vitastāmāhātmy	Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā	156,153, 154	Tīrthas on Vitastā.
40.	Vitastāmāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa, Kaśmīrakhaṇḍa	252,155	Ditto. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 88.)
41.	Śarvāvatāta		213	(Copied from Poona MS. No. 94.)
42.	Śāradāpuramāhātmya	Vitastāmāhātmya	160	'Prayāga' at Shādⁱpūr, § 68.
43.	Śāradāmahātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā	43,161	Śaradā Tīrtha, § 127,
44.	Śāradāmāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	43	Ditto.
45.	Śārikāpariccheda	Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā	163,162, 204	Śārikā Hill, § 95.
46.	Śvetagaṅgāmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā	43	Dugdhagaṅgā, § 67.
47.	Sureśvarīmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā	43,176, 177	Sureśvarī Tīrtha, § 103.

Serial No	Name of Text	Alleged source	Nos. of MSS. in my collection	Remarks
48.	Svayambhvagnimāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43,183, 184	Svayambhū, § 125.
49.	Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	185,186 210,211	Haramukuṭa lakes, etc., § 57.
50.	Haridrāgaṇeśamahātmya	Bhrṅgīśasamhitā	43	Said to be in Dachunpor Pargaṇa.
51.	Harṣeśvaramāhātmya		194,195, 196	Harṣeśvara, § 105.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE *B.B.*—§ 86

THE KAŚMĪR PARGAṆAS

The following table shows the names of Kaśmīr Pargaṇas as contained in the lists of Abu-l-Fazl, Moorcroft, Von Hugel, Vigne, and Major Bates. The list of the last named is the fullest and also indicates the division of the Pargaṇas between Marāz and Kamrāz as observed in the table.

The arrangement of the Pargaṇa names conforms to the topographical order of the descriptive survey in Chapter IV of this Memoir. The second column gives the Pargana names according to their present Kaśmīrī pronunciation, without regard to the often curiously distorted forms in which these names are presented by the earlier lists. The third column shows the authorities in whose lists each particular name is found. In the fourth column the Sanskrit name of the district has been indicated (whenever known), together with the text in which it first occurs. In the last column references have been given to the paragraphs of the Memoir, specially dealing with the historical topography of the several Districts.

Besides the Parganas shown in the table, Abū-l-Fazl counts with Kaśmīr the Parganas of '*Maru Aḍwin*' (Maḍivāḍvan), '*Banihal*' (Bānᵃhāl), and '*Dachhin Khāwarah*' (i. e. Dachin-Khovur, the valley on both banks of the Vitastā below Bārāmūla). In the same way Moorcroft adds the Pargaṇa of '*Durbid*' (i.e. Dvārbidī in the Vitastā Valley, comp. § 53), '*Karnao*' and *Tahirabad*'; of the position of the last-named tract I am not certain.

[The list of Parganas given by TIEFFENTHALER, *Description de l'Inde*, p, 77. is only a defective reproduction of Abū-l-Fazl's list. RITTER, *Asien*, ii. pp. 1136 sq., has endeavoured to elucidate Tieffenthaler's queer names with whatever materials were available to him.]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AF.	ABŪ-L-FAZL, *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 368-371.
Mo.	MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. pp. 113.
Hu.	VON HUGEL, *Kaschmir*, ii. pp. 206 sq.
Vi.	VIGNE, *Travels*, i. p. 272.
Ba.	BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 2.

No	Modern Name	Shown in Pargaṇa list of	Sanskrit name	Remarks and References
	PARGAṆAS OF MARĀZ (MAḌAVARĀJYA)			
1	Phākh	AF. Mo.Hu. V.Ba.	PHĀKHUVĀ (Sriv.)	§ 101.
2	Atshan	Mo. Hu Ba.		These small Districts formed during the Sikh administration, comprised groups of villages in the immediate vicinity of Srīnagar, to the west, south and north, respectively.
3	Balada	Mo. Hu. Ba.		
4	Arvai	Ba		
5	Vihī	AF.Mo. Hu Vi.Ba.	KHAḌŪVĪ (Rāj.)	§ 105.
6	Vular	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi.Ba.	HOLAḌĀ (Rāj.)	§ 106.
7	Dachunpor	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi Ba	DAKṢINAPĀRA (Sriv.)	§ 107.
8	Khovurpor	AF Mo Hu Vi Ba	VĀMAPĀRSVA (Jonar.)	§ 110.
9	Maṭan	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi.Ba.	MĀRTAṆḌA (Jonar.)	§ 111
10	Anyech (Anat-nāg)	AF.Mo Hu. Vi Ba.		§ 112. Also called Islāmābād (Mo. Hu) Anyech appears in AF. misspelt as 'Ītch.'

No	Modern Name	Snown in Pargana list of	Sanskrit name	Remarks and References
		PARGAṆAS OF MARĀZ (MAḌAVARĀJYA)		
11	Kuṭ^{a}hār	AF.Mo. Hu.Vi. Ba.	[KAPAṬEŚVARA, Rāj.]	§ 112. Skr. náme found only as that of Tīrtha.
12	Bring	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi.Ba.	*BHRṄGA (Lokapr)	§ 113.
13	Shāhabād (Ver)	A.F.Mo. Au. vi.Ba.		§ 114. Mo. calls the Pargaṇa 'Bannahal.'
14	Div^{a}sar	AF. Mo. Hu.Vi.Ba.	DEVASARASA	§ 115.
15	Āḍ^{a}vin	AF.Mo. Hu Ni. Ba.	KARALA (Rāj.) ARDHAVANA (Jonar.)	§ 116.
16	Zain^{a}por	A.F. Hu. vi Ba.	JAINAPURA (Jonar.)	§ 116.
17	Boṭ	AF.Mo Hu. Vi.Ba.		§ 116. Hu. Vi. call the district after "Śupiyān Shahr," its headquarters.
18	Sūparsāmun	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi.Ba		§ 117.
19	Śukru	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi Ba.		§ 117.
20	Śāvur	Hu. Vi. Ba.		§ 118.
21	Chrāṭh	Vi. Ba.		§ 118.

22	Sāiru-l-Mawazi.' Bālā	AF Mo. Hu.Vi.Ba.		§ 118.
23	Nāgām	AF.Mo. Hu.Vi. Ba.	NĀGRĀMA (Jonar)	§ 119
24	Yech	AF. Mo. Hu. ViBa.	IKṢIKĀ (Sriv.)	§ do.

PARGAṆAS OF KAMRĀZ (KRAMARĀJYA)

25	Dūnts	AF.Mo. Hu.Vi.Ba	*DVĀVIMŚATI (Kokapr).	§ 120.
26	Bīru	AF.Mo Hu. Ba.	BAHURŪPA (Jonar.)	do.
27	Māñchahom	Mo. Hu. Vi. Ba.		do.
28	Paraspor	AF.Mo Hu. Ba.	PARIHĀSAPURA (Rāj)	§ 121.
29	Sāiru-l-Mawāzi' Pāyīn	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi.Ba		§ 122.
30	Andarkoṭh	AF. Mo.	[ABHYANTARAKOṬṬA, Rāj]	do.
31	Bāngil	AF.Mo Hu.Vi. Ba.	BHĀṄGILA (Rāj.)	§ 123.
32	Patan	AF.	[PATTANA. Rāj.]	do.
33	Tilagām	AF.Mo. Vi. Ba.	TAILAGRĀMA (4th Chron)	do.
34	Khuy	AF.Mo. Hu. Ba.		A small tract ('Quihi' on map) to the north of Paṭan and Tilagām.
35	Kruhin	AF.Mo Hu. Vi Ba	*KRODHANA (Lokapr).	§ 124.
36	Hamal	Mo. Vi Ba.	ŚAMĀLĀ (Rāj)	§ 125.
37	Machipūr	Mo Vi. Ba.		do.
38	Uttara	Vi. Ba.	UTTARA (Rāj.)	§ 126.

No	Modern Name	Shown in Pargana list o	Sanskrit name	Remarks and Reference
PARGAṆAS OF KAMRĀZ (KRAMARĀJYA)—*Continued.*				
39	Lolau	Mo. Hu. Vi. Ba.	LAULĀHA (Rāj.)	§ 128.
40	Zainagir	AF. Mo. Hu.Vi.Ba.	JAINAGIRI (Jonar.)	do.
41	Khuyahom	AF.Mo. Hu. Vi.Ba.	KHŪYĀŚRAMA (Rāj.)	do.
42	Lār	Mo. Hu. Ba.	LAHARA (Rāj.)	§ 129.

END